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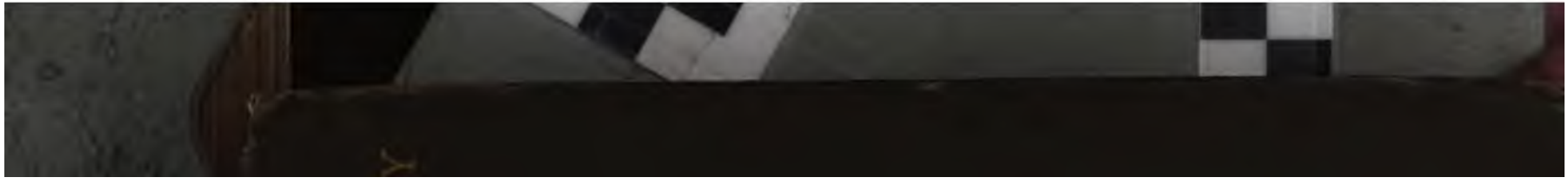

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THE CHURCH

AND

MODERN SOCIETY

LECTURES AND ADDRESSES

BY

JOHN IRELAND

Archbishop of St. Paul

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D. H. McBRIDE & CO.
1903

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	VII
THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND CIVIL SOCIETY	25
THE MISSION OF CATHOLICS IN AMERICA	67
THE CHURCH AND THE AGE	103
HUMAN PROGRESS	133
PATRIOTISM	159
AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP	183
STATE SCHOOLS AND PARISH SCHOOLS	215
THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND LIBERAL EDUCATION	233
INTEMPERANCE AND LAW	259
THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE SALOON	309
CHARITY IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH	327
SOCIAL PURITY	347
AMERICA IN FRANCE	361
THE PONTIFF OF THE AGE	397

INTRODUCTION.

With the view of giving at least an appearance of unity in thought and design to this collection of lectures and addresses, so dissimilar in theme and in immediate purpose, I adopt for it the general title, THE CHURCH AND MODERN SOCIETY. This may not be entirely inappropriate. Such as they are, these lectures and addresses may be said to be in a way illustrations of various points of contact between the church and society, which the conditions of modern times make possible, and which, it does seem, neither the friends of the church, nor those of society, can afford to pass over with an unobservant eye.

To the church the things of Heaven: to society the things of earth. As an abstract statement this proposition is not incorrect. When, however, we come down to practical life, we find it is no easy task to separate the interests and the work of the church from those of society. Frequently and necessarily the church and society stand upon the same ground and deal with the same subject-matter.

The church is, indeed, from Heaven, and its final aim is Heaven. Yet, as we see her in her highest form, embodied in the person of the Master Himself, she is busied with many things, very terrestrial in their nature, in which first sight reveals no reference to the spiritual world. "And going, preach, saying, the kingdom of God is at hand." Such was, it is true, Christ's primary commission to His apostles: but He added:

"Heal the sick, raise the dead to life, cleanse the leper and cast out devils." And as He bade His apostles do, so He did. "He went about doing good." While the message of the kingdom of God ceaselessly vibrated from His lips, He allowed no kind of physical evil to escape the touch of His merciful hand. His miracles were acts of beneficence to the lame, the blind, the deaf, the sorrow-stricken and the hungry. Nothing that was of the welfare of man in this present life was alien to His love and power.

And as the church did, while her life was one with that of the Master, so she did with unswerving fidelity when He had withdrawn to Heaven, leaving still, however, His spirit as the life, the inspiration of her visible organism. To bring souls to God, to save them for eternity through the supernatural graces of the redemption, was avowedly her chief, her primary work: but simultaneously with this there went always the work of stripping, as far as it was possible, of ignorance and pain, the natural life of humanity, and prompting it by most efficient aid to ascents toward higher planes of intellectual light and material well-being.

How deeply the church was concerned always in the complex relations of human life is manifest in the annals of nations. The history of the work of the church is the history of civilization. She was not content with the leavening influences which her doctrines and her spiritual ministrations indirectly exercised on society in virtue of their power to transform the individual man: she adopted practical measures which extended over every department of life, and were adjusted to the varying needs and the changing circumstances of the time. Her ministers were "representa-

tives, not of religion only and the claims of God, but of moral order, of the rights of conscience and the sympathies of man, of the bonds of authority of human society—the only trusted guides of life."* She molded the legislation of peoples; she promoted agriculture and planted colonies and cities. She saved for future generations the learning of Athens and of Rome; she founded schools and universities. She withstood tyranny in king and feudal lord: she taught subjects to respect authority legitimately exercised. She studded the land with homes of charity where every human misery could find alleviation. Her beneficent influence was felt throughout the entire sphere of life and conduct; it blessed all the activities of humanity. She proved, in manner most clear, that religion is, indeed, profitable to all things, "having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come."

And what else could have been the action of the church, if she were to be loyal to truth and to justice, loyal to her mission as the agent and representative of God, the helper and savior of men?

The church is the incarnation of divine love and mercy, and, as such, she cannot but concern herself with all things that make for the betterment of man, for the happiness of man, wherever he is, in whatsoever relation he is found to exist. The voice from Heaven is that we do good to all men, even to the most unworthy, and in this manner we be the children of the Father who is in Heaven, "Who maketh His sun to rise upon the good and the bad, and raineth upon the just and the unjust." Nothing, then, that is of service to man,

*Dean Church: "The Beginning of the Middle Ages."

either as the individual or as the member of society, can be alien to the heart and the work of the church. Her charity must be catholic, embracing all human interests, compassionating and remedying every human ill, blessing and furthering every human good. God is the author of the natural as well as of the supernatural order, and He cares for both. Over both, in the name of God's love and mercy, the church must extend her maternal beneficence.

In doing this, she is only putting into practical exemplification the principles of charity and of justice which it is her direct mission to preach to the world. The Decalogue and the Sermon on the Mount, realized among men, mean the earnest working of all the activities for good that lie latent in the human soul, the blotting out of the innumerable woes, born of sin and of captivity to passion, the blossoming in the individual and in society of the high-born virtues that make the earth the home of purity and of peace, that give to men in sweet fruitage the blessings which their nature craves for, in the enjoyment of which there is happiness, so far as happiness belongs to this present life. All these blessings human language sums up in the word civilization. History is before us to show that civilization advanced or receded as men's conduct was near to, or distant from, the principles and precepts embodied in the Gospel. Those principles and precepts the church proclaims from her chairs of truth: will she not, also, step into the fields of practical life, and labor there to bring them into form, proving in this manner to men that the earthly blessings they are seeking flow from the divine verities which she preaches?

In caring for the temporal needs of humanity, the church contributes to the spiritual interests, which always remain the direct and primary object of her divine mission. That misery and suffering, borne with patience in submission to the will of Providence, become a measure of supernatural merit, a means of self-discipline and self-improvement, Christian faith puts beyond doubt. We hold, of course, to the doctrine of "Salutary Suffering," what a French writer terms "La Bonne Souffrance."* For this, however, there always will be amplest room. Work as we may, succeed as we may, the poor will not forsake us: the teardrop will not refuse to moisten the eyelid, nor sorrow to anguish the heart. Suffering is the necessary sequence of humanity's limitations: humanity will never be without it. But to turn suffering to spiritual profit is the privilege of saints. As a matter of fact, the many are not capable of this elevation of soul; rather are they driven away from the higher life, and made insensible of it by misery and pain.

Do not ignorance and lowliness of intellect close the mind to the light of faith? Does not poverty expose legions to sin and moral ruin? Does not the despair born of destitution and of pain beget a state of soul utterly incompatible with the calm and the sweetness of supernatural grace?

To what purpose is the Gospel announced in the tenements and alley-ways of the slums, unless first we have cleansed the atmosphere of poison, physical and moral, and made the abject creatures that breathe it understand that they are men, and not animals? To what

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*Francois Coppée: "La Bonne Souffrance."

purpose is the language of the skies spoken to men that are maddened with hunger, or the incessant burdens they must bear to sustain bodily life?

Shall we preach purity to the child whom we do not wrest from impure surroundings? Shall we exhort to sobriety the inebriate whom we do not guard against the cruel pressure of the purveyors of intemperance? Missionaries to the South Sea Islands, or to the wild men of the Congo, first humanize, first civilize, at least to some degree, before they attempt to christianize. And is it not the fact in history that the Gospel spread itself the more quickly, where it was preceded by better physical and social conditions. With all its moral shortcomings the city of Rome was a fairer field for the christian apostleship than the mountain villages of Italy, or the uncultured camps of the Goth or the Scythian.

In whatever time, in whatever place we work for Christ and His Kingdom, the principle of action is the same—to improve the natural life of man in order to render him more readily receptive of the supernatural.

Then, men are influenced by the natural; and if they are made to see that the surest power for the growth and the exaltation of the natural springs from the supernatural, they are impelled toward the supernatural by love and gratitude. Let men understand and see that the church's ambition is to bring sunshine upon the scenes of their earthly life, to dispel overhanging clouds, to soften oppressive miseries, that her teachings are harbingers of social peace and security, as her precepts are the conditions of individual well-being: she has won their attention, and she may confidently unfold to them her

revelations of things higher and more hidden. That an institution, which gives no visible pledges of its power for humanity's good, is authorized to promise felicity in an invisible world, men are loath to believe. They feel, and rightly so, that the present life cannot be so separate from the future that influences bearing upon the one do not also bear upon the other: and they insist that while promises are given of perfect happiness beyond the grave, they now be put in the enjoyment of some portion of it, as an omen of what is to come. All this the church is able to do: all this follows from earnest acceptance of her principles and sincere adhesion to her precepts. She holds truly in her hands the promises of the present life as well as those of the future. To make this fact clear, to demonstrate it by indubitable evidences, should be the tireless ambition of her ministers and her disciples, with whom, as the visible agents of her divine spirit, she must needs rest her earthly destinies.

Never in her whole history was there opened to the church a fairer and more inviting field than there is to-day to show what she can do for the peace and the prosperity of the present life. This most wondrous age of industrial development and of intellectual enlightenment has brought with it problems of momentous importance. The bonds of society are relaxed: traditional principles and uses are losing their sacredness: perils hitherto unknown confront and affright humanity. Men are conscious, as never before, of their rights in the social organism, and are determined, as never before, to secure them. But in the battle for their rights they forget often their duties. They have the ambitions

of giants, and they labor with the resolve of giants to satisfy them. But maddened in the battle, they are tempted to set aside the laws of justice, to think solely of self, and in the idolatry of self to trample ruthlessly all else under foot. And thus there are the wars of classes, the armies of anarchists, forerunners of those of despots: individual pride and sensuality clamor for unbridled license; the shrines of the families are desecrated: the very walls of the social fabric are undermined and made to totter. It is beyond a doubt that the forces, intellectual and physical, which modern developments create and foster, while they hold within themselves mightiest potencies for good if properly directed, are fearful menaces to humanity's holiest interests, if given over to the service of unchallenged pride and passion. And pride and passion are in the arena, seeking victory, emboldened for the strife by the opportunities for victory which present conditions seemingly lend to them. It is no wonder that the prudent thinker takes alarm and anxiously asks whither we are drifting.

The supreme need of the hour is strong principles of order and of righteousness, and a strong organized power to proclaim those principles and to enforce them upon the consciences of men. Such strong principles are found in the teachings of the church: such organized power is found in the ministry of the church. What the church is able to do, the history of her many centuries is the witness.

The duty of the church is to show herself as what she is—the source of salvation to men in their present as well as in their future life. The words of Leo, the Pontiff of the age, have no uncertain sound: "Is it not

because society has lost sight of the principles of religion that it is now shaken to its foundations? To recall those principles, and to apply them earnestly, is the one means of establishing society on a safe basis, and of securing peace, order and prosperity."*

And let it not be said that society will not hearken to the teachings of the church and welcome her co-operation. Society is conscious of its maladies. It is sincere, too, in its search of remedies. Whencesoever salvation is promised, thither does it gladly go. Already thoughtful men call openly upon the church for aid. They see that she is the only constructive power that remains; they recognize that she can effect what arms and legislation cannot accomplish: they are hopeful that she will renew to-day her good deeds of yesterday and save society as oft of yore she saved it. There are still, indeed, those who see the church in a most unfavorable light, believing her to be the enemy of modern society and of its legitimate aspirations and hopes. Strange this is; but strange, too, were the calumnies sent forth in the last few hundred years, especially in English-speaking countries, against the church and her most cherished principles; and strange is the enduring force of prejudice which such calumnies have fostered. For ages she was in the van of progress, and yet she is looked upon as the promoter of inertia and the ally of reactionary movements; she rescued human dignity from lowliness and contempt, and stood with all her authority and all her energies between the oppressor and the oppressed, and yet she is called the foe of liberty; she taught Europe, covering the lands with schools and universities, and turning her cathedrals and

*Letter on International Conference on Labor, held in Berlin.

her monasteries into so many asylums of art and of learning, and yet she is styled the enemy of knowledge: she consecrated the rights of legitimate rule, and yet she is regarded with suspicion as a peril to the stability of government and of social order. But as things are to-day, it will be the church's own fault if misrepresentations of her principles and her mission, and blind prejudice, the unfortunate survival of the calumnies of past days, are longer continued. Even they who are her bitter opponents will listen to her if she speaks the language of order and of liberty, of justice and of charity, of intellectual enlightenment and of social progress; even they will greet her with gratitude if they see her actively at work bringing into visible form, in truest and best sense, those deep longings of the soul which humanity cannot but worship, though it has often but vague ideas of their true meaning, and is taught by harsh experience that it knows not of itself how to satisfy them.

Secularism and unbelief, wise in their ways, teach a lesson to the church. They have divined the needs of the times, and they cease not to make professions of their willingness and ability to place humanity upon the planes toward which its awakened consciousness seems to propel it. Through professions of this kind they gain no mediocre victories. In matter of fact, it is mere pretension on their part. Secularism and unbelief have naught but negations to dispose of: and surely in negations there exists no vivifying, uplifting power. Principles alone move the soul, and beget thought and action: principles alone have produced in the past, and can produce in the future, the moral and social regeneration of humanity. Nevertheless, men are so intensely

bent on possessing the realities which are covered by the watchwords of the fray, that wheresoever those watchwords are spoken, thither they hurriedly rush, without waiting to ask whether or no there is substance back of the noisy clamors. Too often secularism and unbelief alone are heard, and to them the crowds turn for salvation. Secularism and unbelief but usurp the language which is the church's own, which her principles and her saving graces authorize her alone to speak, which the history of civilization has awarded to her alone as an imprescriptible possession. Can the church afford to have her treasures stolen from her hands and made over to the service of her adversaries in the warfare that is pressing upon her? She owes it to herself, she owes it to humanity to re-echo through the modern world the battle-cries of victory, which bespeak her historic triumphs, working, meanwhile, most earnestly to prove to all observers that with her such battle-cries are the symbols of living realities.

The opportunity has come to the church to make clear to the world that her olden spirit still remains, that she is still the church of ages, youthful in heart and strong of arm, that far from fearing the dawning of the new century, she hails it with more than ordinary delight, as its problems and conflicts but bring to her occasions to pour out in an unwonted manner the riches of her divine life and to embellish with new glories the reign of Christ over men and nations. It behooves the minister and the soldier of the church not to allow this opportunity to pass unheeded.

That the language to be spoken by the minister of the church is, first and above all other, that of the

supernatural life, that the place to be known by him is, first and above all other, the sanctuary, no one may doubt, no one may dispute. If I make at all reference to this fundamental principle of sacerdotal life, it is only in order to put upon it strongest emphasis, so that even a momentary forgetfulness of it be impossible.

Christ was the messenger of the supernatural: and so is the priest. The supernatural is the vital need of humanity: for the sake of the supernatural the "Word" was made man, and the priesthood was instituted. The priest, failing in the work of the supernatural, fails in his God-given mission, and whatever else he does must be as the sounding brass and the tinkling cymbal. Indeed, his special power for good in the region of the natural is born of the supernatural—of its truths and its graces: the less he belongs to the supernatural, the less he benefits humanity even in the natural.

Assuredly, I do not detract an iota from the priest's duty to the supernatural when I invite him to busy himself with questions that seem to be primarily of the region of the natural, and in the pursuit of those questions to step at times beyond the frontier of the sanctuary. In doing this, I am but obeying the behests of the supernatural and serving the interests of the sanctuary.

In addition, then, to the truths that are strictly those of the supernatural order and of the revelation of Christ, or, rather, in the legitimate extension and application of those truths, I would place upon the lips of the priest such themes as bear more directly upon human life in the natural order and connect with it the supernatural, shedding upon it the radiance of the super-

natural, purifying it of dross, elevating it to higher planes, rendering it worthier of God, who is its Master, and worthier of man, who is the creature and the child of God.

It is, perhaps, a question whether in the pulpit there is enough said of social and civic matters, whether the individual Christian is bidden sufficiently to go outside of his own self, to consider his relations with his fellow-men in the several spheres of their mutual interaction and apprehend fully the obligations as well as the rights that come to him from such relations. How much there is that might be said by the Christian preacher, with great benefit to his immediate hearers and to the general community, on the moral law which underlies practical politics, on the religious aspect of patriotism, on the duties of the citizen to bear generously his share of public burdens and public responsibilities! Are not the intricate problems of capital and labor, of social charity and social justice, most appropriate and profitable themes for the divinely appointed teacher of Christian truth and love? And how suitable to the sanctuary, the shrine of virtue and of purity, would be the frequent and indignant denunciation, not only of intemperance, of dishonesty in business, of vicious immoral living, but, also, of the agencies and legal tolerances that encourage and promote such evils! The tendency in the pulpit would seem to have been to limit its field to the individual soul, as if the soul did live alone and only for itself, while, as a matter of fact, it is entangled in a hundred networks of most complex relations, the perils of which are its perils, the purification and elevation of which must ever be both the cause and the effect of its personal sanctification.

And, furthermore, in behalf of those sacred interests of the individual and of society, I would have the priest —always under guidance of Christian prudence and discreet zeal—tread ground outside the pulpit, outside the sanctuary. Prudence, indeed, is needed: extreme caution is to be taken that the dignity of the sacred ministry be safeguarded, that the principles of holy faith be held aloof from all possible peril of being misunderstood or exposed to sacrifice. In this regard there must be on every occasion jealous vigilance. But, this counsel given, I would gladly see the priest stand upon every platform, and mingle with every assembly, where by word or act he may serve his fellow-man and advance the reign of God through the betterment and exaltation of human life. First in his community as the spiritual leader of souls, the priest should be first as the citizen, the scholar, and the philanthropist, as the friend and the protector of whatever is true and good upon earth; wherever and whenever opportunity is given to serve God and fellow-man, there the priest's voice should be heard, there his hand should be uplifted in work.

It has been well said, "If the priest shuts himself up in the sacristy or the cloister, if theology is confined to the pulpit, if the teaching of morals is reserved to the confessional, will not the result be that the church loses her legitimate influences over the intellect and the will of nations?"* If the priest does not go outside the temple of religion, there are multitudes that will never hear his voice, and never know the message he is charged to speak to humanity. And, then, in the priest himself action must supplement preaching, and the

*Dr. Thomas Bouquillon in "The Catholic University Bulletin."

sphere of action is the outside world. What a lesson there is for the representative of Christ in the parable of the Good Shepherd! The Good Shepherd goes far beyond the limits of the fold, even into the dark clusters of briars and thorns, whither God's creatures may have wandered, to tell them of Heaven's love, to stanch their wounds, and bear them back to life and health.

Nor do I see a reason why in efforts to do good to fellow-man the priest may not ally himself with others who are not of his spiritual flock, but who are as pure-minded and as earnest in works of charity and of justice as he is himself. There is often so much evil to be overcome, so much good to be done, where no one portion of the community suffices for the task, where success waits upon the united action of all. As society is nowadays constituted, it is only through such general harmony of action that most important works of virtue and of patriotism become possible. In such cases isolation of moral forces in a community means defeat and disaster, and it should not be allowed, except when strictest principle commands. The fields of action for common well-doing are numerous, where all members of the community may unite in action without smallest peril to one's particular religious faith, and in those fields Catholics should ever be the quickest and most earnest workers. This is the lesson taught by the reigning Pontiff Leo XIII, in a letter to the Catholics of France urging them to union of action, in the interests of civic virtue and public liberty, with those of their countrymen, who, while not so loyal to the principles and practices of the Catholic faith, are nevertheless loyal in word and act to the welfare of society and of country.

The layman, too, in the name of religion owes service to humanity, and has his place in the field of social action. The occasions that are offered to him, the methods that he is authorized to follow, differ, in a large measure, from those that are of the province of the priest; but in his manner he bears in his soul the seal of the soldier of the church, and is obligated to be ever ready to do fitting battle in her honor.

For the Catholic, duties to humanity and to the country robe themselves in the sacred garment of religion. It is betrayal of the faith to hold himself aloof from the interests of fellow-men and fellow-citizens. What elevates and dignifies human society, what promotes its welfare, moral, intellectual or physical, is to the true Catholic, be he priest or layman, a matter of serious concern, to which he gives freely his thought and his labor. To care for his soul, in isolation, as if the soul lived for itself, and by itself, is to lose his soul. No human being, no follower of Christ, is cast by the Creator upon a solitary island, to work out alone his destiny. He is ordered into social aggregations, where he must live and merit, if he would win the approval of the Master. Social duties weighed even upon the hermit saints of the deserts; they sent upward to the Throne of Grace supplication for their fellow-men, and by heroic example taught them to repress passion and live in holiness. Social duties weigh upon all men, whoever they are, wherever their lot is cast; the form only of those duties varies, this being determined for each one by the circumstances and the opportunities of his more immediate surroundings.

It is, perhaps, not untrue that heretofore in America Catholics did not take their due part in the moral and

civic movements, to which modern society gives rise. For this there was at least an apparent excuse. There existed in the country more or less prejudice against the church, and in the face of this prejudice Catholics were timid of public action. It was not clear that a cordial welcome awaited them, or that the work, in which they should be glad to engage, was so conducted, in all particulars, as not to expose them to the peril of a sacrifice of their principles.

To-day, however, conditions are altered. The Catholic church is known and understood in the country, as never before. Prejudice against it is barred by public opinion. The active co-operation of Catholics in social and civic work is not only allowed: it is desired and courted. The moral and intellectual force inherent in the Catholic church is recognized; and the sincere wish of the country is that this force be put into action for the general good of society. Freedom to every one to adhere sternly to his religious faith: union of all in best efforts to upbuild and enrich humanity—this is the established social polity of America. The race in the work for the general welfare is loyally opened to the whole people of America. They who remain out of it have but themselves to blame; they who are swiftest in it will receive the plaudits of public opinion.

In no other land at the present time is there given to Catholics the freedom of action and the opportunity for work, given to them in America. This is to say: in no other land, so much as in America, are Catholics under strictest obligation to labor for the church and for society.

The distinctive moral characteristic of the age is humanitarianism—devotion to humanity, zeal for

its interests. Right or wrong in its premises, right or wrong in its methods, the age adopts humanitarianism as its philosophy, almost as its religion. Let us note the fact, and be instructed by it. Whatever the force that best serves humanity, dominates the age. Do we desire that the sovereignty of the age be to Christ and His church? If so, let us prove to the age that the interests of humanity are best guarded when guarded by Christ and His church.

Beyond a doubt the religion of the future is that which is plainly discerned as "having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come."

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND CIVIL SOCIETY.

THIS DISCOURSE was delivered in the Cathedral of Baltimore, on the evening of Monday, the tenth day of November, 1884.

The previous day the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore had been solemnly opened in the Cathedral.

The sessions of the Council extended over four weeks. On several evenings of each week discourses were delivered in the Cathedral by members of the hierarchy upon such doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church, as, it was supposed, were likely to be present to the minds of the American people, witnessing a great and representative gathering of the Catholic prelates of the country.

The Bishop of St. Paul was invited to speak on "The Catholic Church and Civil Society."

There lurks in the minds of not a few Americans a suspicion that the Catholic Church is unfriendly to civil and political liberty and to the republican form of government which obtains in this country. It is important, both for country and for Church, that the

position of the Church in this matter be plainly set forth, and be well understood by all Americans.

This discourse is intended to be a brief and plain exposition of the teachings of the Catholic Church and of the facts of her history in their relations both to social authority and to civil and political liberty.

America is, with reason, solicitous that no peril come to liberty; but it should be no less solicitous that no peril come to authority. The republic dies from loss of authority as surely as from loss of liberty. Authority is, indeed, the condition of liberty. For there is no liberty, which is the free enjoyment of one's rights, in the absence of authority, which is the protection of those rights.

The Catholic Church safeguards both authority and liberty.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND CIVIL SOCIETY.

"Let every soul be subject to higher powers: for there is no power but from God; and those that are, are ordained of God."—*Rom. XIII: 1.*

I DO not, I think, mistake my fellow-countrymen, when I ascribe to them, on the occasion of the Plenary Council holding session in Baltimore, the wish that a statement be made as to the attitude of the Catholic Church in her teachings and in her history toward civil society, and, in a special manner, toward the form of civil society which obtains in the United States of America. Americans are ardent and sensitive in their love for their country and its system of government; and whenever an organized religious or moral force comes before them, their impulse immediately is to question the bearing of this force upon the Republic and its institutions.

The large majority of Americans are not Catholics. Yet they see, from the number of her adherents, the perfection of her organization, the consistency of her principles in doctrines and morals, that the Church is a great power in the land, and an important factor in shaping the destinies of the Commonwealth.

Americans who are Catholics are solicitous that the position of the Church toward the institutions

of the country be correctly understood by their fellow-citizens; and, themselves sincerely devoted to country and to Church, they delight in being again and again assured that love of country and love of Church blend in sweetest harmony and enhance and intensify each other.

The American people have had their false prophets who sought to create prejudice against the Catholic Church. Again and again, from sectarian pulpit and popular platform, the accusation has gone forth that the Church is the enemy of civil liberty, and that loyalty to her implies disloyalty to the institutions of the country.

There is no conflict between the Catholic Church and America. I speak beneath this Cathedral dome as an American citizen no less than as a Catholic bishop. The Church is the mother of my faith, the guardian of my hopes for eternity; America is my country, the protectress of my liberty and of my fortunes on earth. I could not utter one syllable that would belie, however remotely, either the Church or the Republic, and when I assert, as I now solemnly do, that the principles of the Church are in thorough harmony with the interests of the Republic, I know in the depths of my soul that I speak the truth.

The whole truth is that mutual love between Church and America brings benefit to Church and to America. On the one hand, it is true that the choicest field which Providence opens to-day to the Catholic Church is the United States, and that the Church welcomes with delight the signs of the

times which presage a glorious future for her beneath the star-spangled banner. But, on the other hand, it is also true that the Republic of the United States will find in the teachings of the Catholic Church the best safeguards for its life and prosperity, and that the more the country acknowledges those teachings, the stronger and the more durable its civil institutions will become.

You will permit me to put before you the principles of Catholic theology relating to civil society. These principles will be the proof that the Church, opposed equally to anarchy and to despotism, is the sure guardian of society and the sure defender of liberty.

Man is made for Society.

Man is by nature a being fashioned for society. His instincts, his needs demand society; they demand the guarantees and the encouragements of society. He depends for his existence and for his growth upon the family, the first of all social units; individual and family depend for the undisturbed enjoyment of their most sacred rights upon the higher social form—the State. It is the superior authority of the body politic that secures "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The great movements which improve and elevate the human race spring from the emulation which society supplies, and they are carried to success through the coördination of distinct forces under the law of unity, which is the abiding principle of order, power, and beauty. For man the absence of social organization means warfare with his fellows

the paralysis of his energies, and barbarism as his permanent condition. Man, the perfectible being as nature intended him, is not possible outside of society.

Society cannot exist without a central authority.

Society requires a central authority, a government. We are here confronted with the great problem which underlies all social philosophy—the construction of society upon principles which, while guarding it from anarchy, will guard it with no less jealousy from despotism. Anarchy is the total disruption of the social framework. Authority is needed to avert this evil; but authority suggests the danger of an evil no less fatal, the abuse of authority, or despotism, which, under pretense of warding off ruinous rioting, crushes out with iron heel the rights which it was instituted to preserve. Anarchy and despotism are the Scylla and the Charybdis of civil society. Death lurks in both, and will come as surely and as swiftly from one as from the other.

Never in the history of the world was the difficulty of the social problem felt so keenly by humanity as it is to-day. Society is unstable; it reels as if drunk with wild passion. At one moment it is trembling on the brink of final dissolution amid the clamors and violence of Communists and Nihilists; at another it is rushing with the mad shriek of despair into the ruthless grasp of military Cæsarism, or worshiping idolatrously the irresponsible absolutism of the State. Doctrinaires have lied to society. In hearkening to them, society renounced the principles of life with which its divine Author had endowed it, and

it is paying the penalty of its apostasy. What those principles are, the Church, the faithful custodian of the revelation of God, tells us. Her teaching saves society.

Theories of Hobbes and Rousseau.

Modern social theorists, led by Hobbes and Rousseau, assert that men are by nature free from all social obligations; that society is the result of nothing more than a voluntary pact, and that it has no powers except such as are derived from the acts and consent of those who constitute it.[1] In this view the powers of society, mere concessions from individuals, are revocable at will, and bind only so far as individuals are pleased to recognize them. Society is simply an aggregation of men for mutual protection; obedience is not a moral duty; authority is a creature of the aggregation, in consequence of which the members, whether they are the governing or the governed, remain equal in rights of all kinds, social as well as natural. God counts for nothing in society; He gives nothing to society; social affairs need have no reference to Him.

All this is false. Atheists and materialists may, consistently with their principles, propose absurdities of this kind. The pagans of old never uttered the like. Their cities and empires were sacred to the divinity. Reason proclaims that society is not the result of a voluntary pact; that it exists by the force of nature, and, consequently, by the command of the

[1] Hobbes: "Leviathan."
Rousseau: "Le Contrat Social."

Author of nature. God can no more be excluded from society than from any part of the physical universe. As He made man for society, so He ordained society; and as He wills the means when He wills the end, He conferred upon society the authority needed for its preservation. Society is not simply an aggregation of individuals; it is a moral entity of itself, a complete organism, having its own life and its own authority which are neither derived from, nor are dependent upon, individual members. Society is superior to individuals. Obedience to it is obedience to God. Those who govern are invested with power from God, and by His will are constituted the superiors of those over whom they are placed.

The repudiation of the divine origin of society and of government leaves no choice for the State between anarchy and despotism.

The divine origin of society: teachings of Leo XIII.

"By Me," says divine Wisdom, "kings reign and "lawgivers decree just things. By Me princes rule and the mighty decree justice."[1] St. Paul teaches: "There is no power but from God; and those that are, are ordained of God. Therefore, he that resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God. . . . For he (the prince) is God's minister to thee for good."[2] The Church repeats the teachings of Scripture, and sets forth their practical consequences. In the Encyclical on Socialism the present Pontiff, Leo XIII., condemns the modern atheistic theory of

[1] Proverbs, viii: 15-16.

[2] Romans, xiii: 1-4.

society. "By a new sort of impiety, unknown to the pagans," he writes, "states constitute themselves independently of God, or of the order which He has established. Public authority is declared to derive neither its principles nor its power from God, but from the multitude, which, believing itself free from all divine sanction, obeys no laws but such as its own caprice dictates. . . . They (the Socialists) never cease proclaiming that all men are equal in all things; and hence kings have no right to command them, nor laws any power to bind unless such laws be made by themselves and according to their own inclinations. The Gospel, on the other hand, teaches that all men are, indeed, equal, inasmuch as all have the same nature, and all are called to the sublime dignity of children of God. . . . But an inequality of rights and powers emanates from the Author of nature Himself, from whom all paternity is named in heaven and on earth. . . . As in the Church God has instituted a diversity of degrees and offices, so, too, He has established in civil society orders differing in dignity, in right and power, so that the State, like the Church, might form one body composed of many members, some more noble than others, but all necessary to one another, and all laboring for the common good."[1]

It is plain that the equality which the Pontiff denies is the social or political equality that excludes the distinction between the governing and the governed, and annihilates society. When power is

[1] Encyclical: "Quod Apostolici," 1878.

given by God, they who exercise it are for the time being superior to those over whom it is exercised, however equal in rights the governing and the governed may be under the law of nature.

In a later Encyclical, Leo XIII. refers again to social questions. He reproves the assertions of the Naturalists that "each one is by nature free;" that "no one has the right to command others;" that "to wish to subject men to the authority of any one, unless that authority has come to him from themselves, is to do violence to them."[1]

In saying that no one is "by nature free," the Pontiff means that no one is by nature free from the laws of society, just as no one is by nature free from parental authority or from other restrictions imposed by nature. In asserting the right of some to command others, the Pontiff does not imply that some men have this right as a thing proper or peculiar to them from nature; he speaks of the acquired social right which belongs to all rulers legitimately constituted in society. When he denies that men are free from "the authority of any one, unless that authority has come to him from themselves," Leo XIII. has, of course, in mind the theories of Hobbes, Rousseau, and their followers, according to which there is no divine authority in society, and he views the members of society as individuals, who, as such, are not the arbiters of legislation. In those words the Pontiff in no manner refers to the people of a country, acting in its corporate capacity, and com-

[1] Encyclical: "Humanum Genus," 1884.

municating to its chosen rulers the divine authority of which it is by the will of God Himself the original depositary and the channel of transmission.

The words of both Encyclicals, wrested from the context which clearly indicates their limitation to political and social matters, have been, to a large extent, misconstrued by the public press of two continents, and I quote from those documents at some length that you may correctly understand them.

I have stated the teaching of the Church on the origin of society and of government; this teaching is the potent bulwark against anarchy and the sure foundation of authority in society.

Society is as a city built upon the mountain within whose bosom burn a thousand volcanic fires. There are ten, thirty, fifty millions of human beings differing from, opposed to, one another in inclinations and interests. In order that union in one body politic be possible, mutual sacrifices are required. The passions of men, in their fury, acknowledge no control; those passions must be repressed. The poor envy the rich; inferiors hate superiors; the proud seek to rise upon the ruin of their fellows; the strong oppress the weak. From these evil tendencies humanity must be saved. To repress passion, to obtain that individual interest be sacrificed to that of the commonweal—such is the mighty task which devolves upon authority. Under the ægis of authority, there is the reign of order and peace; authority displaced, there is the revel of crime and chaos.

Perils of society.

Authority—do we pause to notice facts too patent?—loses day by day its sacredness and its power. Socialists and Nihilists, whose lodges honeycomb Europe, have called authority the enemy—the enemy which they are sworn to combat. The Commune of Paris mocked it and spat upon it amid the lurid glare of burning palaces and the savage uproar of murderous riot. In America things are better. And yet, in America Socialism is not unknown. For what are we sometimes forced to witness? Mobs ruling our cities; a spirit of lawlessness clearly visible in the population; laws broken without concern as if made to be broken; crowds gathering around the voting booth to elect to office men pledged to disregard the edict of the legislator. Even in America the question is timely: Whither is society drifting? What protection will society henceforward afford to life, liberty, and rights the most sacred?

Authority is the safeguard; but if authority is to be something more than an idle name or a lifeless shadow, it must be endowed with vigor and power that will insure to it reverence and obedience.

Will the appeal be to right in ruler and to duty in subject? Assuredly not, if society is cut off from God, if government has no power, no right but what it has received from the people. If, as atheistic theorists hold, society is but the voluntary aggregation of individuals, and not an ordinance of God, if the governing power has no consecration beyond the free acknowledgment of the governed, then no

Under the terms of the "Social Contract" social authority does not exist.

right exists, and no right is violated when the individual disobeys or withdraws altogether from the pact. No one may complain when all are equal. The "sacred right of insurrection," as rebellion, just or unjust, has been so often termed, whether it be against law, or against government, or against society at large, is the inalienable privilege of every man. Indeed, there never is rebellion, because above the individual himself there is no authority against which he may rebel. Rousseau's theory of society is political Protestantism, the supremacy of the individual; and, as in Protestantism there can be no religious heresy, so in Rousseau's social theory there can be no social rebellion.

Under the terms of the "Social Contract" no right to exact obedience exists or can exist. If one man, in his own name, exacts obedience, he is a tyrant: for he assumes over other men a power that does not belong to him. If many men, or even the majority, exact obedience in the name of numbers, they also are tyrants, for mere numbers give no power, except such power as robbers and murderers claim. No wonder is it that authority is called the enemy. No wonder is it that the French Revolution, with all the horrors of Jacobinism, followed upon the spread of Rousseau's doctrines. The statue of the Genevan philosopher, standing out from his sarcophagus in the Pantheon, befittingly represents him as holding in his right hand a burning torch. It is the torch of revolution, of social destruction, and social ruin.[1]

[1] Balmez: "Protestantism and Catholicity:" Chap. 50.

Will self-interest take the place of duty and compel men to submit to authority? Vain illusion! It is self-interest that begets opposition to law and authority. Talk of self-interest to the ambitious, the vengeful, the licentious; talk of self-interest to the millions hopelessly doomed to unceasing labor, to suffering and to want, while the glitter and the pleasure belong to the few! Say, if you will, that whatever becomes of the individual of the present time, the ultimate interest of the race, the general good of the commonwealth, is secured by labor and suffering! Remote results may be pleasing dreams to philosophers reclining in their easy chairs; the masses bearing the heavy burthens of the day make sacrifices only in view of things that are near and sure.

Self-interest or physical force does not supply the place of authority.

Will physical force be invoked? Force is, on occasions, a convenient and effective solution of the difficulty. Cannon and sword will scatter mobs; prison and exile will thin the ranks of rebels; the silence of death may be called peace. But this is despotism most execrable, a hundred times more galling and degrading than the wildest anarchy. Order secured in this manner is too dearly bought that we should desire it. Besides, it will be of but short duration. Despotism intensifies opposition; it provokes hidden plottings and terrible reactions. Governments, alas! too often lend their aid to social atheism, fancying that bayonets will suffice for their maintenance. "And now, O ye kings, understand: receive instruction, you that judge the earth. When

His wrath shall be kindled in a short time, blessed are all they that shall trust in Him."[1] A godless people will swiftly demolish the stoutest bastiles.

The appeal to God and to conscience insures the stability of society.

In the name of God's Church, I shall declare whither the appeal must be made. Make the appeal to God. Tell men that there is a God in Israel; that authority is divine; that God's majesty encircles with its rays the legislators and rulers of nations. Tell men that they who govern on earth are indeed human, but that behind them stands the Eternal, making their laws His own, Whom to serve is kingly honor, Whom to reverence is highest duty. God is the master of man, and God's will is man's supreme law. Make the appeal to man's conscience, that divine sense in man which reëchoes the divine command, the only moral power on earth, the only power that can repress passion whether in the individual or in society. To God and to conscience let the appeal be made—then sacrifice is sweet; then there is peace through obedience, and the sword may seek its scabbard.

With St. Paul the Church teaches that disobedience to civil law is a sin. "He that resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist purchase to themselves damnation. Wherefore be subject of necessity, not only for wrath, but also for conscience' sake."[2] The Catholic Church commands

[1] Psalms, ii: 10–13.

[2] Romans, xiii: 2–5.

and consecrates patriotism. The true Catholic must needs be the true patriot. In the eyes of the Church loyalty to country is loyalty to God; patriotism is a heavenly virtue, a high and holy form of obedience; the patriot dying for his country wears the halo of the martyr.

Did they but know what is for their welfare, nations would write in letters of gold the Encyclicals of Leo. Leo's words will save society. High above the storm that threatens devastation to the social fabric, his voice rises, even as the voice of the Master amid the winds of Genesareth, bidding us not to fear, and indicating the means of salvation. And thus will it ever be. As long as Peter's throne rests on the Vatican, so long will testimony be given to truth; so long will the principles of order and authority be proclaimed to the nations of the earth.

And now, having vindicated the divine origin of authority, I shall speak the word which in your hearts you long to hear, which sounds as sweetest music to your ears—a word which has been the inspiration of a thousand battlefields, which symbolizes the dream of nations, the ideal of temporal grandeur and felicity—liberty! Did you think that in my zeal for authority I was forgetting liberty? Believe me, I, too, love liberty. It is with deep emotion that I speak the word; I speak it with confidence as well as with affection, because, standing in a Catholic pulpit, I can establish liberty upon ever-enduring foundations—the eternal principles of divine truth.

Liberty! No conflict between liberty and authority.

Think not that there is a conflict between liberty and authority. License sacrilegiously calls itself liberty, "making liberty a cloak for malice:"[1] despotism dares to usurp the holy name of authority. The conflict is either between license and authority, or between despotism and liberty. Liberty and authority are one. Liberty presupposes and follows from authority; authority has liberty for its object. Liberty is the untrammeled use of one's powers and faculties; it is, so to speak, the ownership of oneself; hence, we cherish it. It is, at the same time, the possibility of self-expansion and self-aggrandizement, the mainspring of movement and progress in society: hence, nations consider it their most precious inheritance. But that this ownership of self, this expansion of one's faculties, be possible, protection is required against unjust interference of others. This protection is given by authority. Authority, furthermore, combines into one force the energies of many, and renders individual rights the more fruitful, and progress the more certain. Liberty, outside of authority, is the freedom of wild beasts to devour one another. "Appoint, O Lord," says the Psalmist, "a lawgiver over them, that they may know themselves to be men."[2] Authority impeding liberty! Do the hillsides, nature's barriers, by confining within their bed the waters of the mighty Mississippi lest they divide over adjacent lowlands into shallow

[1] 1 Peter, ii: 6.

[2] Psalms, ix: 2.

marshes, impede their free and majestic flow or diminish their strength and beauty in their course to the sea? Who those are that should dread authority, St. Paul tells us in the Epistle to the Romans, from which I have quoted: "Wilt thou, then, not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise from the same. For he is God's minister to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, fear, for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is God's minister, an avenger to execute wrath upon him who doeth evil."[1] The sacrifices which authority demands from the good and the well-disposed in the community are compensated for a hundredfold in the advantages that it affords. While authority is held sacred, liberty is safe; when authority is assailed, a deathblow is leveled at liberty.

"There is no power but from God; and those that are, are ordained of God." The same principle of Catholic teaching which consecrates authority confines it within just limits. If civil power is from God, it is to be used for the purposes intended by God—the preservation of society, the defense of the rights of individuals and families. Beyond those purposes, rulers have no jurisdiction, and, when they unjustly invade the rights which they are appointed to protect, they are in opposition to God.

The Catholic Church, the enemy of liberty! This has been said, but with what truth I shall ask you to judge.

[1] Romans, xiii: 3-4.

Catholic teaching consecrates authority and confines it within just limits.

Authority is from God, and civil governments rule by right divine. But observe in what way, according to Catholic principles, civil governments are constituted. God does not appoint for a people a particular form of government, as He did, for instance, in the case of the Church; nor does he select the particular men who are to wield authority. All this is committed to the people. They select the ruler and make choice of the form of government; God invests the people's candidates with sovereignty, subject to the conditions and limitations with which the people circumscribe it. There are no kings or rulers by divine right in the sense that specified men or families are directly called by God to reign, or that specified governments are authorized by Him. Rulers govern by the will of the people, and derive their just powers from the consent of the governed in the sense that the consent, the choice of the governed is the condition upon which heaven conveys authority.[1]

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[1] "No monarch has authority from God directly, but indirectly only, viz., dependently upon human choice and human ordinance (mediante humana voluntate et institutione)." Suarez: "Adversus Errores Sectæ Anglicanæ," Lib. III., Cap. 2.

"Political power resides in the whole community as in a subject, because it is of divine law. Now the divine law has not conferred political power on a particular person. Therefore it has conferred it on the whole community (multitudo). Moreover, if we abstract from the positive law there is no reason why one man rather than another should be ruler, since all men are equal (by the natural law). Therefore political power resides in the whole community." Bellarmine: "De Laicis."—Book III., Chap. 6.

The principle of the intervention of the people in the selection of their government is the primary condition of civil liberty. The people decide for themselves in what manner sovereignty shall be exercised over them; they are a party to the contract with their rulers. They decree whether the full sovereignty shall be confided to one person or divided among several; whether a ruler shall hold office for a number of years or for his lifetime; whether his sovereignty shall come to an end with himself or be transmitted to his heirs. There is an absolute monarch, or a king with lords and commons, or a president with senators and representatives, as the nation is pleased to elect. "There is no prohibition to nations, the rules of justice being otherwise observed," says Leo XIII., "to choose for themselves that sort of government which befits their temper or accords with the traditions and customs of their race."[1] Republic, monarchy, empire—all forms of government fare alike before the Church; in all of them the authority is divine, and toward all of them obedience within the limits of their commission is obligatory.

Authority is transmitted by God through the people; the people decide what form of government they shall have, and who shall be their ruler.

Here, however, let me make an explanation, so that Catholic teaching be in no manner misunderstood. A government once chosen, its conditions once decreed, the people cannot at will, through mere whim or fancy, dethrone their rulers or annul

[1] Encyclical: "Diuturnum," 1881.

their constitutions. Stability is a most important element of social order, and changes must not be effected without the gravest reasons. Society, a divinely-ordained institution, may not commit suicide; no power to tear down the social framework is conceded to prince or to people, to the multitude collectively or distributively. And when mention is made of the legitimate intervention of the people, we are to understand, not citizens singly, or in small aggregations, but the community, as expressing the national will. Once chosen, directly or indirectly, by the people and invested with divine power, civil rulers are, in fact and in right, the superiors of those whom they govern, and they are to act for the general good as their consciences dictate under the terms of their agreement with the people. They are not mere mouthpieces of their subjects, mere slaves of their constituents. In them, not in the people, the active sovereignty now resides; and upon them lies the responsibility of the proper exercise thereof.

Doctrine of St. Thomas Aquinas as to rulers and laws.

I shall state in the words of the "Angel of the Schools" the principles of the Church on the use and the extent of sovereignty. "Law is a rule dictated by reason, the aim of which is the public good, and promulgated by him who has the care of society."[1] "The will of the prince to have the force of law must be guided by reason. In this sense only can the will of a sovereign be said to have the force of law; in

[1] St. Thomas: "Summa," 1-2, q. 90, art. 4.

any other sense it would not be law, but injustice."[1] "Human laws, if they are just, are binding in conscience, and they derive their power from the eternal law from which they are formed." "Laws may be unjust in two ways, either by being opposed to the common weal and by having an improper aim, as when a government imposes upon its subjects onerous laws, which do not serve the common interest, but rather cupidity and ambition; or on account of their author, as when one makes a law beyond the power vested in him. Such laws are outrages rather than laws."[2] "The kingdom is not made for the king, but the king for the kingdom; for God has constituted kings to rule and govern, and to secure to everyone the possession of his rights; such is the aim of their institution; but if kings, turning things to their own profit, should act otherwise they are no longer kings but tyrants."[3]

Never were thoughts uttered on civil liberty more sublime in truth, more loyal to liberty in its best and highest aspirations than the thoughts of Thomas Aquinas. All power is from God. God grants no power to rulers against Himself. The divine laws, the supreme dictates of righteousness and goodness, must never be violated. In their official, as well as in their private life, rulers are subject to them. God is "the King of kings and the Lord of lords," and nations, no less than individuals, are His creatures. Human laws which contradict the divine have no binding power;

[1] St. Thomas: "Ibid," q. 90, art. 1.
[2] St. Thomas: "Ibid," 1-2, q. 96, art. 4.
[3] St. Thomas: "De regimine Principum," Lib. III., cap. XI.

"they are rather injustices than laws." God's higher law limits all civil power. Even the monarch who dared to say in his mightiness, "I am the State," was subject to the solemn admonition: "Hitherto thou shalt come, and thou shalt go no further." Under apparent absolutism an impregnable citadel remains to liberty, the conscience, whose cry of war against tyranny has never been stilled in the world since the first prince of the Church exclaimed in Jerusalem: "If it be just in the sight of God to hear you rather than God, judge ye."[1]

Nor is this all. Civil power in the hands of rulers is a trust, the aim of which is the public good, the use of which must be directed by reason. The good pleasure of the sovereign does not make law. The State is not for the ruler; but the ruler is for the State. In the intent of the trust the ruler becomes the servant of the people, and when he does not serve them, but rather consults his own ambition, he is a tyrant, and his laws are "injustices," and "outrages." Equally despotic is the ruler who violates the conditions upon which he was chosen by the people as their superior; he is bound as much as they by the fundamental laws, written or traditional, by the charter or constitution of the nation. Authority deserves obedience only when "deriving its power from the eternal law." Otherwise, the nimbus of divine majesty vanishes from the ruler's brow; the human alone remains; and the human demanding to reign is despotism, and obedience to it is slavery.

[1] Acts, iii: 19.

This, assuredly, is the proclamation of civil liberty—the declaration that law is "a rule dictated by reason, the aim of which is the public good." Liberty is the alliance of social protection and individual rights with as little curtailment of those rights as the case may permit. The Catholic definition of law is the consecration of this alliance.

Revolution at times permissible.

The zeal of Catholic theologians for liberty goes farther than calling the edicts of despotism "injustices" and "outrages," and asserting that they do not bind in conscience. A revolution, the subversion of authority, the Church holds, and rightly, to be a fearful occurrence. Society quakes to its deepest foundations from the shock; with difficulty will it afterwards recover its equipoise; and yet, when despotism lowers its heavy hand over a people, and representation, counsel, and entreaty fail to stay it, the nation, rather than let liberty die for evermore, may rise up with all its might, and, in a supreme effort for life, hurl against despotism the thunders of war.[1] This right belongs not to an individual nor to

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[1] "If a lawful king rules tyrannically, and there is no other way for the kingdom to protect itself, except to depose him, it is lawful for the whole community by a solemn act to do so. This action is sanctioned by the law of nature, which always allows us to repel force by force, as well as by the terms of the original contract under which the first king accepted sovereignty from the people." Suarez: "De Juramento Fidelitatis Regis Angliæ," cap. 4.

"Tyrannical rule is not just because it is not for the public good, and hence to rise up against it, is not properly called sedition, unless, perchance, its overthrow should cause greater evils." St. Thomas: "Summa," 2-2, q. 42, art. 2.

a few; the people only may say when the time for insurrection has come. "In extreme circumstances," says Balmes, "non-resistance is not a dogmatical prescription. The Church has never taught such a doctrine; if anyone will mention that she has, let him bring forward a decision of a council or of a Sovereign Pontiff to that effect. St. Thomas of Aquin, Cardinal Bellarmine, Suarez, and other eminent theologians were well versed in the dogmas of the Church; and yet, if you consult their works, so far from finding this doctrine in them, you will find the opposite one." "Bossuet and other authors of repute," Balmes adds, "differ from St. Thomas, Bellarmine, and Suarez; and this gives credit to the opposite opinion, but does not convert it into a dogma. Upon certain points of the highest import the opinions of Bossuet suffered contradiction."[1]

Civil liberty independent of forms of government: the despotic state possible under all forms.

Those principles of Catholic teaching are at the very core of civil liberty. They give us the substance, and not what is merely external and superficial, as we too often receive where professions are loudest. The world is easily deceived; words win above realities. Liberty is bidden to cast the ægis of its name, now over anarchy, now over despotism. Be the name what it may,

"It is a fact engraven a hundred times in history, that time, the great transformer of all things of earth, works profound changes in the political institutions of human societies. Sometimes it modifies the form of government, sometimes it substitutes for the first forms, other forms entirely different, without excepting even the manner of transmitting sovereign power." Leo XIII.: "Letter to the French Catholics," 16th Feb., 1892.

[1] Balmes: "Protestantism and Catholicity," chap. 42.

there is no liberty where law is not the dictate of reason, and where law is the dictate of reason there is liberty. So far as true liberty is concerned, external forms of government are largely accidental: they neither create nor necessarily impede liberty. The spirit of the people is of incomparably greater importance than the form of their government. An empire or a monarchy may secure the fullness of liberty to the subject, and despotism may reign in a republic. A republic may, in the name of brutal numbers, ignore justice, prostitute public power to private ends, trample under foot the rights of minorities, and in the name of liberty annihilate liberty. The tyranny of the majority is perhaps worse than the tyranny of one man or of a few, because it has no restraint. Gibbon says of the expiring republic of Rome: "The provinces, weary of the oppressive ministers of the Republic, were willing to submit to the authority of a single master." Not seldom were the rights of minorities and of individuals unscrupulously sacrificed in modern republics of Europe and South America. The foulest form of absolutism, the quasi-deified and despotic state, is a temptation of all forms of government. The despotic state, be it called monarchy or republic, allows no higher authority than itself; it assumes to be the supreme arbiter of right and wrong, of the spiritual and the temporal, controlling school and Church, thought and conscience, as it controls army maneuverings and real estate taxation, and refusing the recognition of any right, except what its own will authorizes. It is the complete

incarnation of despotism. The pagan state was nearly always constituted on this basis, and, consistently with the notion, the *Patria* received divine honors.[1] Our own maxim, *Vox Populi, Vox Dei,* must never mean that the sovereign people can do no wrong, or that their will is the highest law. Some forms of modern political Socialism, in the name of liberty now vigorously striving for supremacy, do not stop short of the claims of the pagan State, asserting that the State is all in all, and the individual nothing—the individual having no right to own property, to speak, to think, to train his children except as the State directs and allows in the supposed interest of the common good.

The principles of liberty live of the life of the Church.

The value of Catholic principles is not realized when we consider them only in their intrinsic truth and beauty. We must consider them also in relation to the living organism which enunciates and defends them. The principles of civil liberty taught by the Church can never become a dead letter. They are never allowed to be forgotten. They are not merely inscribed, as are the sayings of philosophers, upon the pages of books, which a tyrant may consign to hidden and silent shelves, far away from the knowledge of his subjects. They live with the life of Mother Church, whose noble progeny they are, and they speak to the world with the voice of the Church. The voice of the Church proclaiming them cannot

[1] The Romans had erected in their city a temple to the Goddess Rome (Templum Urbis Romæ Æternæ). To the same Goddess temples were built in other parts of the empire. (Livy: Lib. xliii., cap. 6.)

...ments him of the penalty of despo
it is heard over every age and thr
The Church, Catholic and immortal
and guardian of liberty, the spir
Catholic and immortal.

The charge has been made in
State against the Catholic Church th
with the duties of citizenship by d
giance of subjects. The charge is wit

The distinction between the te
spiritual realms was marked, in cleare

Distinction between the temporal and the spiritual realms; Catholics are loyal to both.

Incarnate God: "Rend
things that are Cæsar's,
things that are God's.'
ment of the temporal l
mitted to Cæsar. Whe
to establish on earth a spiritual society,
ing back from Cæsar: He had kept
things of the soul, "the things of God;'
only He claimed immediate power du
...

The Church reserves to her own jurisdiction faith and morals. Beyond these she does not go; over these the State should claim no control. The State is sovereign in the administration of temporal affairs, and in the practical methods of government: in these the Church has no voice. The limitations of jurisdiction in both Church and State are well defined, and, each one confining itself to its own sphere, no conflict can arise between them.[1]

The Church proclaims the revelation of Christ, and the principles of justice and of morality, which are binding from God upon men, whether acting as individuals or as communities. To bid her to be silent, when faith is opposed, or morals violated by subjects or by rulers, is to make the State supreme no less over mind than over body, and to consecrate despotism most absolute. From such despotism non-Catholic Americans, no less than Catholics, instantly recoil. All hold the individual conscience to be inviolable; all make the appeal: "If it be just in the sight of God to hear you rather than God, judge ye." There is but this difference—non-Catholics yield obedience to the individual conscience uninstructed save by private judgment, while Catholics yield obedience to individual conscience instructed

[1] "This is the office appointed unto the Church by God: that it may watch over and may order all that concerns religion, and may, without let or hindrance, exercise according to its judgment its charge over Christianity. Wherefore they who pretend that the Church has any wish to interfere in civil matters, or to infringe upon the rights of the State, know it not, or wickedly calumniate it." Leo XIII. Encyclical, "Satis Cognitum," 1896.

by a teaching Church, which they hold to be of Christ and to be infallible. Both authority and civil liberty profit from the Catholic rule. For, where the individual conscience is uninstructed save by private judgment, on the one hand, the individual is in the name of faith and morals made the judge of the State, and the door is opened to social anarchy; and, on the other hand, the individual being left alone and unprotected, the triumph of despotism over the people is facilitated. Far better is it, both for authority and for liberty, that there be a spiritual power, public and universal, giving in God's name final sentence in matters of faith and morals.

The Church always battled for liberty for herself.

Among the brightest pages of history, and the most honorable for the human race, we must account those that tell the battles of the Church in defense of liberty. The Church fought for liberty for herself. Never did the Catholic Church in spiritual matters bend the neck beneath the yoke of temporal prince. She held her commission directly from Christ, and she permitted no sovereign of earth to rule over her. The ambition of tyrants was ever to enslave the spiritual powers. In imperial Rome the ruler was at the same time *Imperator* and *Pontifex*—the commander-in-chief and the high priest. The pagan union of the two powers was often coveted in Christendom. In Germany, Henry IV. took upon himself to dispose of the bishop's crozier as he would of the vassal's sword. In England, Henry II. allowed no rights to the Church that were not derived from his own will. In later

years this was the tyranny of Henry VIII., alike King and Pope of England, and, in our own days, of Chancellor Von Bismarck, of Prussia, whose May laws make the State as powerful in the sanctuary as it is in the military garrison or the revenue bureau. The victory always remained with the Church; it was her own victory and it was the victory of civil liberty. It was not the hatred of religion that led rulers to war with the Church: it was the hatred of liberty. They could not brook the existence of a power independent of them, to which their people could appeal, and which reminded subjects that there is a limit to the authority of masters. Cæsar was not omnipotent so long as the Church refused him "the empire of mind," and he raged against the Church. Fortunately a Canossa always awaited him, and liberty was saved to the world.

The Church battled for the personal liberty of man.

The Church fought the battles of personal liberty against slavery and serfdom. It was by her Pontiffs and her councils that the "rights of man" were made known to the world. Her dogma of a common brotherhood under the one divine paternity struck to the ground the manacles that heartless man was always too willing to impose upon his weaker fellow. No social law or feudal caste could long resist the example of the great Church that never refused her own spiritual dignities to slave and serf, and that placed those upon whom her princely insignia were once conferred, in social rank above the highest lord or lady in the land. "In 1167," says Voltaire, "Pope Alexander III. declared in the name of the

... trade, and led the way to the negro slavery in civilized lands.'

The Church fought the battles
During the Middle Ages she was acc
as supreme arbiter;
moned sovereigns to ju
always acted in the i
people, in the interest of civil liberty.
to us that John, or Henry, or Fred
his subjects—this the usual tenor
fical letters calling sovereigns to tri
the world in thundering tones that
might, and that despotism is a crime o
against society. The solemn conde
Barbarossa or a Henry sufficed to thril

The Church battled for civil liberty.

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[1] "Therefore, by virtue of our Apostolic
and admonish in the Lord all Christians and
that in future no one shall venture to oppr
Negroes, or other men, to strip them of their
duce them to servitude, or aid those who c
famous traffic." Gregory XVI.: Letter of N

Leo XIII. enunciates the traditional doct
his letter on African missions. He says:

"We have allowed no opportunity to
openly condemning

with the spirit of liberty, and to awaken from their slumbers all rights of humanity, whether in high or low estate. "The result was that in the Middle Ages," as Montalembert expresses it, "the world was bristling with liberty." "The spirit of resistance," he continues, "the sentiment of individual right, penetrated it entirely; and it is this which always and everywhere constitutes the essence of freedom."[1] Feudalism was at the time strongly intrenched in Europe, and opposed powerful obstacles to the development of liberty. The Church alone was capable of resisting its influences. "If the Christian Church had not existed," says Guizot, "the entire world would have been delivered up to mere material force. The Church alone exercised a moral power."[2] Hume himself writes that without the Papacy "all Europe would have fallen very early into one or many caliphates, and would have submitted infallibly and disgracefully to Turkish sway and to Oriental oppression and stupefaction."[3]

Strange fortune of the Catholic Church! She battled for centuries in giant warfare, and saved Europe to liberty, and to-day she is accused of befriending despotism and crushing out free institutions. Her work for liberty, for civilization, for progress, was culminating in the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Protestantism appeared on the horizon, and the credit of the long and tedious work of ages has been awarded to the new religion.

[1] Montalembert: "Monks of the West," Introduction.
[2] Guizot: "Histoire de la Civilisation," Lec. 2.
[3] Hume: "History of the House of Tudor."

It is asserted that the Protestant Reformation did much for liberty. The fact of history is that despotism followed everywhere in the wake of early Protestantism. Never, during Christian ages, except in Protestant countries, was the subjection of the spiritual to the temporal an accomplished fact. The Protestant prince was made the head of the church in his realm, and ruled souls as well as bodies. Henry VIII. became the keeper of the consciences of the people of England; his daughter, Elizabeth, demanded more servile obedience from her bishops than from her lieutenants and her sheriffs; and Gutavus Adolphus was equally despotic over the Church in Sweden. In Protestant Germany the political maxim prevailed, *cujus regio illius religio*, and every petty prince drafted in his cabinet dogmas and rules of morals which his subjects had to accept under penalty of losing their heads. The doctrine of passive resistance, according to which a prince, however despotic, can never be dethroned, was brought into its greatest prominence by Anglican divines under James I.; and however much Guizot, a Protestant, praises the Reformation, he is compelled to confess that as a fact "absolute monarchy triumphed simultaneously with it throughout Europe."[1]

Despotic state governments followed in the wake of the Reformation; Protestantism enunciated no principle that favors liberty.

Protestantism in the sixteenth century retarded, instead of advancing, the growth of liberty.[2]

[1] Guizot: "Histoire de la Civilisation," Lec. xiii.

[2] "In Germany there was no political liberty: The Reformation did not introduce it; it rather strengthened than

The Protestant Reformation introduced into the world not one principle of truth which favored liberty. Its appeal to private judgment in religion was religious anarchy. Private judgment applied to civil and political matters, as it was applied by "the German Peasants," was political anarchy.[1] From political anarchy the rebound is to political despotism.

If, in later times, liberty has asserted itself in Protestant lands, it has but recovered by its own energies its pristine vigor, and to-day wherever it thrives, its strength comes to it from the principles proclaimed and defended by the Catholic Church during the whole course of the Christian era.

Political liberty; the republican form of government; the attitude of the Church toward republics.

The relations of political to civil liberty I take to be as those of means to an end. I call political liberty the diffusion of State sovereignty among the people and the intervention, as direct as it may be made, of the people in the affairs of the government. The republic is the special embodiment of political liberty. The presumption is that the people will guard with greater care their civil liberty—the free, untrammeled enjoyment of their rights—by giving their personal attention to the government rather than by resigning the sovereignty into the hands of one ruler. The general

enfeebled the power of princes: it was rather opposed to the free institutions of the Middle Ages than favorable to their progress." Guizot: Ibid., Lec. 12.

[1] "The religious liberty preached by Luther was understood by the Peasants as also implying the political freedom for which they sighed." Menzel: "History of Germany," vol. 2, chap. 194.

principles bearing upon authority, which I have so far explained, remain inviolate. Once placed in office, the representatives of power, however few or numerous they may be, or however brief their term of authority, are for the time being the superiors of the community, and they hold their power from God within the limitations assigned to their several charges by the constitution.

You ask: What is the attitude of the Catholic Church toward a republican form of government? The reply has substantially been given. The Church teaches that the choice of constitutions and of rulers lies with the people. Whether they shall have an empire, a monarchy, or a republic, it is their privilege to decide, according as their needs may suggest or their desires may lead. In this matter the Church is from her principles without a voice. This is the emphatic declaration of Pope Leo.[1]

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[1] Encyclical: "Diuturnum," 1881.

Pope Leo repeats the same doctrine in his letter to the French Catholics, February 16th, 1892, in which he says: "Different political governments have succeeded one another in France during this century, each one having its own distinctive form—empires, monarchies, republics. Remaining within abstractions, one would be able to say which of those forms is the best: one may also acknowledge in all truth that each form is good, provided it aims toward its legitimate end, the common good, for which alone social authority is constituted. Relatively speaking, one form or another of government is preferable, inasmuch as it adapts itself better to the character, manners of one nation or another. In this order of abstract ideas, Catholics, as all other citizens, have full liberty to prefer one form of government to another. It must be carefully remarked that whatever be the form of civil power adopted in a nation, it cannot be considered so definitive that it must remain unchangeable, even if this had been the intention of those who, in the beginning, determined the form."

It is for the people to speak; it is for the Church to consecrate and enforce their will. When, under due conditions, the people have constituted a government over themselves, whatever the form, in itself legitimate, this government may have, the Church commands obedience to it. It is, consequently, Catholic doctrine that in America loyalty to the Republic is a divine precept, and that resistance to law is a sin crying to heaven for vengeance. To the Republic in America, the Church accords the honor and respect due to the representative of divine authority in temporal matters, and her prayer for the Republic is that it may secure to the people what its professions permit them to expect—the largest possible share of civil liberty.

The Catholic Church always encouraged liberty.

I lose patience when I hear prejudice still asserting that the Catholic Church is not the friend of free institutions. Could her teachings be more explicit? Has her history belied those teachings? The life, the soul of a republic is an intense love of civil liberty: has not the Church always labored to create and strengthen this love? Have not her efforts been always in the direction of personal dignity and of the rights of the individual? Was it not under her guidance that the Middle Ages gradually emerged from Roman despotism and barbarian feudalism into the possession of political liberty? Did she not, by abolishing slavery and serfdom, widen the ranks of freemen and citizens? Were not her bishops parties to all the charters of liberty wrenched from absolute

monarchs? Were not parliaments and trial by jury the institutions of Catholic ages? Were not the fueros and communes of the Middle Ages the freest forms of municipal regimes? Are not the names of the Italian republics of Genoa, Pisa, Sienna, Florence, Venice, familiar to all students of history? Does not Switzerland, that classic land of mountain liberty, shoot into remote Catholic centuries the roots of her republican institutions? I may in all truth add that if the world is to-day capable of understanding and maintaining political liberty, it is due to the Church's long and painful elaboration of European civilization. Our Radicals, I presume, wonder that the hordes led by Attilla and Genseric were not at once educated by the Church into the intricacies of parliamentary debate and presidential campaigning. The action of the Church in the world is, as the action of God, strongest when mildest, sowing seeds in due season and awaiting due season to reap the harvest, educating nations as a parent educates the child. This much certainly is manifest from history, that the Church has encouraged the fullest development of personal freedom and personal rights, and that so far as political liberty is compatible with civil liberty, and avoids anarchy no less than despotism, she rejoices in its widest expansion.

I do not say that Catholics of all countries will profess, or that Catholics of all past ages would have professed, my own love and admiration for the republican form of government. The choice of governments

the Church leaves to nations, and here, as in all questions open to free discussion, men differ. In other places Catholics see matters from local points of view; they judge from local experiences; they are influenced by the public opinion, or the prejudices, of their several countries. This much, however, I know, that if they prefer other forms, they are not compelled in their choice by Catholic principles or Catholic history. This much, too, I know, that I do not transgress Catholic teaching when I speak forth my own judgment this evening, and salute the republic as the form of government which I most admire and love.

Words of St. Augustine on republics; need of social virtue in republics.

The great Augustine wrote: "If the people are serious and temperate, and, if, moreover, they have such concern for the public good that each one would prefer the public interest to his own, is it not true that it would be advisable to enact that a nation should choose its own authorities for the administration of its affairs?"[1] And he answers: "Most certainly so." Remark the conditions laid down by Augustine: "If the people are serious and temperate, and if, moreover, they have such concern for the public good that each one would prefer the public interest to his own." The one peril for the republic is that it give more freedom than poor humanity deserves or can endure. No form of government so much as a republic demands wisdom and virtue in the people. The many control the ship of State;

[1] St. Augustine: "De Libero Arbitrio," Lib. I., cap. 14.

the many, consequently, must be able to control their own passions. Rome lost her liberties when the Romans had lost the stern morality of their early history. Virtue is but a name, where religion, the sense of man's obligation to God, is not deeply imbedded in the hearts of the people. To Americans, then, who love the Republic I fearlessly say: Your hope is in the Catholic Church, because she is to-day the mighty power to resist vice and unbelief. Do you not see that outside of the Catholic Church the most important doctrines of Christianity are melting away, that the most vital virtues are said to be no longer of significance, that moral chaos is threatening, that the fount of all social life, the family, is breaking up under the pressure of violent passion? The most valued aid given to the Republic by the Church is not her direct enunciations on liberty, but her powerful labors in the cause of religion, of purity, of honesty, of all the heavenly virtues that build up the Christian man and the Christian family.

The Republic of America.

Republic of America, receive from me the tribute of my love and of my loyalty. With my whole soul I do thee homage. I pray from my heart that thy glory be never dimmed —*Esto perpetua*. Thou bearest in thy hands the hopes of the human race. Thy mission from God is to show to nations that men are capable of highest civil and political liberty. Be thou ever free and prosperous. Through thee may liberty triumph over the earth from the rising to the setting sun!—*Esto perpetua*. Remember that religion

and morality can alone give life to liberty and preserve it in never-fading youth. Believe me, thy surest hope is from the Church which false friends would have thee fear. Believe me, no hearts love thee more ardently than Catholic hearts, no tongues speak more honestly thy praises than Catholic tongues, and no hands will be lifted up stronger and more willing to defend, in war and in peace, thy laws and thy institutions than Catholic hands. *Esto perpetua.*

THE MISSION OF CATHOLICS IN AMERICA.

THE hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the Catholic hierarchy in the United States was celebrated with pomp and ceremony in the Cathedral of Baltimore on the tenth day of November, 1889.

Nearly all the bishops of the country, together with hundreds of priests and distinguished laymen, had come to Baltimore to take part in the festivities. Bishops and priests from Canada, Mexico, and England were also present. The Sovereign Pontiff, Leo XIII., was represented in the person of Monsignor Francis Satolli.

The celebration was worthy of the event that it commemorated.

The brief of Pius VI., erecting the episcopal see of Baltimore and giving to the United State its first bishop, bore the date November 6th, 1789. Before that time the Church in the United States had been governed by the Vicar Apostolic of London, England. Whatever the works of zeal which Catholic priests and laymen attempt or do in any country, where the episcopate is not established, the Church is not rooted in that country, nor can she attain there her full growth. The episcopate was instituted by Christ as the ordinary government of the Church, and to the

episcopate alone Christ has attached the graces of divine government. The brief of Pius VI. was the creation of the American Church, the infusion into her of the fullness of life, and of the forces through which she was to prosper and conquer.

The first century of the Church in America was one of marvelous growth. From John Carroll, first Bishop of Baltimore, the only bishop in the vast territory between the Atlantic and the Pacific, to James Gibbons, the ninth Bishop of Baltimore, the primate of a Church that numbers seventy-seven bishops, a Cardinal of the Church Catholic—what wondrous changes a hundred years have brought about!

The hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the hierarchy was an occasion of rejoicing and of thanksgiving. It was something more. It was an occasion that suggested to the Catholics of 1889—clergymen and laymen—solemn thoughts as to the possibilities of work for the Church in the second century of her history in the United States and the obligations which those possibilities impose. The completeness of the celebration demanded that the coming century be considered and meditated upon no less than the past.

Great, indeed, the possibilities for the Church, and great the obligations of Catholics! The opening of the second century of the history of the Church in the United States finds in the United States a population of sixty-five millions, of whom ten millions are Catholics, and finds the world on the eve of a new age, the twentieth century!

On the morning of the anniversary celebration, the Archbishop of Philadelphia spoke of the glories and the triumphs of the century that was then closing; at the evening service, the Archbishop of St. Paul spoke of the possibilities and the duties of the century that was then opening.

THE MISSION OF CATHOLICS IN AMERICA.

For thy soul strive for justice, and even unto death fight for justice, and God will overthrow thy enemies for thee.—Ecclesiasticus, iv.: 33.

A CENTURY closes; a century opens. The present is for Catholics in America a most solemn moment. Another speaker has reviewed the past, evoked from its shades the spirits of its heroes, and read to you the lessons of their labors. I bid you turn to the future. It has special significance for us. The past our fathers wrought; the future will be wrought by us. The next century of the life of the Church in America will be what we make it. It will be our own, the fruit of our labors. Oh, for a prophet's eye to glance adown the unborn years, and from now to read the story of God's Church on this continent as generations a hundred years hence may read it! But no prophet's eye is needed. As we will it, so shall the story be. Brothers — bishops, priests, laymen — in what words shall I tell the responsibility which weighs upon us? There is so much at stake for God and souls, for Church and Country! There is so much in dependency upon our coöperation with the divine action in the world! The duty of the moment is to understand our responsibility, and to do the full work that Heaven has allotted to us

— for our souls to strive for justice, and even unto death to fight for justice.

I would sink deeply into your souls the vital truth that the work which is to be done is our work. With us it will be done; without us it will not be done. There is to-day sore need that we ponder well this truth; for in practice, though not in theory, the error obtains among us, that in religious matters man has scarcely aught to do, the work having been done by the Almighty God. Do not imagine that I am losing sight of the necessity of the divine. The lesson of faith is not forgotten: "Unless the Lord build the house, they labor in vain who build it."[1] But it is no less the teaching of faith that in producing results the human blends with the divine, and that the absence of the one renders the other sterile. Too often we refuse to do our part; we seem to wish that God would do all. God will not alter the rulings of His providence to make up for our inaction.

The next century will be as we make it.

There are times in the history of the Church when it is imperative that stress be laid on the supernatural in the work of religion. There are times when it is imperative that stress be laid on the natural. Singular phenomenon of our days! In all matters outside religion, the natural has unlimited play, and summons into action its most hidden energies; in religion, it seems as if the natural sought to extinguish itself so as to leave the entire field to the

God always does His part; men do not always do theirs.

[1] Psalm, cxxvi: 1.

supernatural. There are countries where faithful Catholics pray, administer, or receive sacraments, but fear to go further. I cannot name a country where they are fully alive to their opportunities and their duties. Do Catholics in America put into the work of religion the sleepless energy and the boundless earnestness that characterize them in secular affairs? As Catholics too often are and too often do, failure in religion is inevitable. God will save His Church in all times. This He has promised. But no promise was given as to the splendor of her reign, or as to the permanency of her dwelling among a particular people. The apocalyptic candlestick has been often moved from its place. There are bright and there are dark lines in the Church's history. God's work is always done; man's work is often left undone. When saints walked on earth, their pathway sparkled with rays of light from heaven, and the surrounding atmosphere became ablaze. In our own country, what will be the lines of the Church's history? God demands that we make answer.

Let me state, as I conceive it, the work which, in God's providence, the Catholics of the United States are called to do within the coming century. It is twofold: To make America Catholic, and to solve for the Church universal the all-absorbing problems with which religion is confronted in the present age. Never, I believe, since the century the dawn of which was the glimmer from the Eastern Star, was there prepared for Catholics of any nation of earth a

work so noble in its nature and so pregnant with consequences as that which it is our mission to accomplish. The work defines the measure of the responsibility.

The work is to make America Catholic. As we love America, as we love the Church, it suffices to mention the work, and our cry shall be, "God wills it," and our hearts shall leap towards it with Crusader enthusiasm. We know that the Church is the sole owner of the truths and graces of salvation. Would we not that she pour upon the souls of friends and fellow-citizens the gifts of the Incarnate God? The touch of her sacred hand will strengthen and sublimate the rich heritage of nature's virtues, which is the portion of America and of America's children; it will add the deifying treasures of supernatural life. The Catholic Church will preserve as no human power, no human church can preserve, the liberties of the Republic. We know that by the command of the Master it is the bounden duty of the Church to teach all nations. To lose the apostolic spirit were, on her part, to give proof that she is unconscious of the truths which she owns and of the commission under which she exists. The conversion of America should ever be present to the minds of Catholics in America as a supreme duty from which God will not hold them exempt. If we are loyal to duty, the record of our second century of Church history will tell of the wondrous spread of Christ's Church over the United States of America.

God's will is that we work to make America Catholic.

The value of America to the cause of religion cannot be overestimated. This is a providential nation. How youthful and yet how great! How rich in glorious promise! A hundred years ago the States hardly exceeded the third million in population; to-day they approach the sixty-fifth million. Streams of immigration from the lands of the earth are turned toward us. There is manifestly much in our soil and air, in our social and political institutions; for the world's throngs are drawn to us. The country must grow and prosper. In the solution of social and political problems, no less than in the development of industry and commerce, the influence of America will be dominant among nations. There is not a country on the globe that does not borrow from us ideas and aspirations. The spirit of American liberty wafts its spell across seas and oceans, and prepares distant continents for the implanting of American ideas and institutions. This influence will grow with the growth of the nation. Estimates have been made as to our population a century hence, placing it at 400,000,000, due allowance being had in this computation for diminution in the numbers of immigrants. The center of human action and influence is rapidly shifting, and at a no distant day America will lead the world. The native character of the American people fits them to be leaders. They are earnest, deliberate, aggressive. Whatever they believe, they act out; whatever they aim for, they attain. They are utterly incapable of the indifference

Value of America to the Church.

to living interests and of the apathy which, under the specious name of conservatism, characterize European populations. The most daring elements of other lands have come hither to form a new people —new in energy, new in spirit, new in action—in complete adaptation to a new epoch in the world's history. We cannot but believe that a singular mission is assigned to America, glorious for itself and beneficent to the whole race, the mission of bringing about a new social and political order, based more than any other upon the common brotherhood of man, and more than any other securing to the multitude of the people social happiness and equality of rights. With our hopes are bound up the hopes of the millions of the earth. The Church triumphing in America, Catholic truth will travel on the wings of American influence, and encircle the universe.[1]

The work of Catholics in America is also to solve for the Church Universal the problems with which religion is to-day confronted.

We are advancing towards one of those great epochs of history, in which mighty changes will be wrought. The world is in throes; a new age is to be born—"*Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur*

[1] "We have represented our countrymen as greatly in need of the Catholic religion, even under a political and social point of view, to cherish their patriotism and to preserve the republican spirit they so ardently love, and we have believed that, if once converted, they would carry into their Catholic life those natural virtues of boldness, energy, enterprise, and perseverance for which they are now so remarkable, because our religion does not destroy the natural, but elevates, purifies, and directs it." Brownson's Works, vol. xx., page 59. Detroit, 1887.

ordo."[1] The traditions of the past are vanishing; new social forms and new political institutions are arising; astounding discoveries are being made of the secrets and the powers of nature; unwonted forces are at work in every sphere over which man's control reaches. There is a revolution in the ideas and the feelings of men. All things which may be changed will be changed, and nothing will be to-morrow as it was yesterday, save that which emanates directly from God, or which the Eternal Power decrees to be permanent.

American Catholics called to reconcile Church and Age.

Amid the movements of the modern world the startling question has been put: Will not the Church, herself an institution of past ages, disappear with other legacies of those ages? Why should she alone triumphantly withstand the billows that are sweeping all else into destruction?

Catholics are ready with the answer: No; the Church will not disappear, whatever else disappears, for the Church is divine, and was made for all ages.

But proofs must accompany the answer; and the most effective proof—the one to which the modern world is most disposed to hearken—is to show that the Church is truly of the present age, as she was of other ages, that she understands its needs and sympathizes with whatever is true and good in its ambitions, and that with the Church and through the Church those ambitions will be realized.

A study of the modern world leads us to say that its predominant feature is a resolute assertion of

[1] Virgil: Eclogue IV.

the powers and the rights of natural, as distinguished from revealed or supernatural order. Nineteen hundred years ago the Christian religion displaced in the life of mankind paganism, under whose reign corrupt nature was unrestrained. During many subsequent centuries the supernatural was supreme, permeating minds and hearts, extending its influence over social institutions and governments, over arts and industries, the natural order, meanwhile, acting in fullest harmony with its laws and spirit. At the opening of the sixteenth century, signs of a new era appeared on the horizon. The Renaissance, unconsciously perhaps, sowed the seeds of rebellion against the supernatural. The inevitable reaction from the teachings of the reformers, as to the total depravity of the fallen race, quickened in man the spirit of self-assertion. Then came the wondrous feats and discoveries of the past hundred years to embolden the intellect, and nature at last proclaimed its self-sufficiency and its independence.

The conflict between the natural and the supernatural.

The watchwords of the age are reason, education, liberty, the amelioration of the masses. Nor are these watchwords empty sounds. They represent solid realities which it is noble in the age to strive for. Rebellious nature lays claim to words and to realities, as if they were its exclusive property, obtained not only by its unaided self, but even in spite of the supernatural. In the name of every forward movement war is declared against the Church and revealed religion; and combatants, ranged under banners upon

which seductive words are inscribed, easily gain popular applause. The purpose is to exclude Christ and His Church from the living world, to relegate them to ruins and to sepulchres, even as Christ and His Church at one time relegated paganism. The war is between the natural and the supernatural. I need not state what is the duty of Christians. It is to maintain in the world the supremacy of the supernatural, and to save the age to the Church.

The burden of the strife falls upon Catholics in America. In America the movements of the modern world attain their greatest tension. Here the natural order is seen at its best, and here it displays its fullest strength. Here, too, the Church, unhampered by dictate of government or by despotism of custom, can, with the freedom of the Son of Jesse, choose its arms, and, making straight for the opposing foe, bring the contest to a more speedy close.

I am aware that there are among us those who do not share my hopefulness. What can be done, they say, in America? Catholics are a handful—ten millions in sixty-five—the few among the many, struggling against prejudice. The mere preservation of the little flock in the faith is a herculean task. Ill prepared are we to attempt the conversion of our fellow-citizens; and ill disposed are they to hearken to our words. As to the burning questions agitating the world, the prospect of a solution that will satisfy the age is remote. The sky above us is cloud-laden, and no glimmer of light pierces through it. The days of failing faith are upon us. The refuge of each one is

to flee for safety to the mountains, and to wait in silence and prayer the return of God's vivifying breath upon the nations.

Catholics should not fear or hesitate.

Brothers, hold not the language of fear and distrust. Will Catholics say that the triumphs of other days are not possible in our times and our country? The Church is the same to-day as when she overthrew pagan Rome, or won to grace ferocious Northmen—the Church of divine truth and divine power. Her commission is the same to-day as then—to teach all nations, and Christ is with her, even unto the consummation of ages. God's arm is not shortened. What, then, is wanting? Our own resolute will to put to profit God's graces and God's opportunities. "For thy soul fight for justice, and even unto death strive for justice, and God will overthrow thy enemies."

Why should we fear or hesitate? We number ten millions—in the arena of truth and justice a powerful army, if the forces be well marshaled, and their latent strength be brought into action. Catholics in America are loyal to the Church and devoted to her chieftains, brave in confessing the faith and self-sacrificing in its interests. They have waxed strong amid storms; they have none of the hot-house debility of character which not seldom marks Catholics in countries where faith seems to live only because of its environment. Their labors and their victories in the first century of their history, a century of poverty, struggling, and spiritual destitution, show what they are capable of in a century of adult

stature, conscious power, and completeness of hierarchical organization.

The American people not hostile to the Church.

Non-Catholic Americans deserve, by their splendid natural virtues, that we labor to impart to them the plenitude of Christ's faith; and neither in disposition nor in act do they place obstacles in our pathway. They are clever, intelligent, ready to listen, anxious to know what is the truth. They are fast putting off the old traditional prejudices against the Church. If they still retain some prejudices, the fault is ours. Either we have not sufficiently proved our faith by our manner of life, or we have not presented the truth with due urgency, and by methods that captivate attention. The alienation of non-Catholics in America from the Church is an inherited misfortune. They have deeply religious instincts; vital Christian principles are rooted in their modes of thought and social practices. America is at heart a Christian country. As a religious system, Protestantism is in process of dissolution; it is without value as a doctrinal or a moral power, and it is no longer a foe with which we need reckon. The American people are generous, large-minded and large-hearted, earnest in all things, sincerely desirous of moral and intellectual growth. To repeat the words of Orestes A. Brownson: "Never, since her going forth from that upper room in Jerusalem, has the Church found a national character so well fitted to give her civilization its highest and noblest expression."[1] The super-

[1] Works: vol. xi., page 559.

natural rests on the natural, which it purifies and ennobles, adding to it supernatural gifts of grace and glory. Where the natural is most carefully cultivated, there will be found the best results from the union of nature and grace. The American people made Catholic, nowhere shall we find a higher order of Christian civilization than in America.

It can be shown to the American people that they need the Church for the preservation and the complete development of their national character and their social order. So far, their civilization has had its life through that strong Christian element which is permeating it, and which, notwithstanding their separation from the Church, has remained with them. This element, however, is rapidly losing its vitality amid the disintegrating processes to which the negations of Protestantism subject it. The Catholic Church is the sole living and enduring Christian authority. She alone has the power to speak; she alone has an organization by which her laws may be enforced. To her the American people must look to maintain for them in the consciences of citizens the principles of morality and of religion, without which a people will ultimately fall into chaotic anarchy, or become the prey of ambitious despotism.

An inestimable advantage to us is the liberty which the Church enjoys under the Constitution of the United States. Here no tyrant casts chains around her; no concordat limits her action, or cramps her energy. Here she is as free as the eagle upon Alpine heights, free to unfold her pinions in unobstructed flight,

and to soar to loftiest altitudes. The law of the land protects her in her rights, and asks in return no sacrifice of these rights, for her rights are those of American citizenship. The Republic at its very birth guaranteed liberty to Catholics at a time when, in nearly all other lands, governments, both Protestant and Catholic, were oppressing the Church; and during its whole history the Republic has not failed to make good its guaranty. To-day, in how few countries outside our own, is the Church really free! If great things are not done by Catholics in America, the fault lies surely with themselves, and not with the Republic.[1]

Freedom of the Church in America.

The tendencies of the age, which affright the timid, are providential opportunities, opening the way to glorious victory. I am far from asserting that modern ideas and movements are in all respects deserving of approval. Not seldom do they betray, in one way or another, immoral and iniquitous tendencies, and Pius IX. has warned us in his Syllabus that when they present themselves under those aspects the

Syllabus of Pius IX.

[1] "The Church has lived under absolute empires, under constitutional monarchies, and in free republics, and everywhere she grows and expands. She has often, indeed, been hampered in her divine mission . . . but in the genial atmosphere of liberty she blossoms like the rose. For myself, as a citizen of the United States, and without closing my eyes to our shortcomings as a nation, I say with a deep sense of pride and gratitude that I belong to a country where the civil government holds over us the ægis of its protection without interfering with us in the legitimate exercise of our sublime mission as ministers of the gospel of Christ." —Discourse of Card. Gibbons in his Titular Church in Rome, March 25th, 1887.

tries, and its discoveries. I thank it fo
benefactions to my fellow-men, for its war
proffered to the people rather than to
ruler. I seek no backward voyage across
time; I will ever press forward. I believ
intends the present to be better than th
the future to be better than the present.

What is good, what is bad in the Age.

Let us be fair to the age, discerning which is good, as well as that which is good is the essence; the accident, the misdirection. ments of the age have the the deepest recesses of humanity. As from their source they are upward; they the elevation of the race, the betterme multitude, the extension of man's empire o Pass in review the watchwords of the covers a substantial good, finding favor i of God and of those who love Him. Kno is the nurture of our noblest faculty, th

[1] The propositions reported in the Syllabu time or another "censured" by Pius IX., repre cesses and extravagances of the movements of th

Science — it is the peering into the mysteries of nature, into the glorious works of the all-wise and all-powerful God. Liberty — it first came to men through gospel truth; the Church has made ceaseless war on slavery and despotism, and the trend of all Christianity has been to enlarge the race's heritage of civil and political liberty. The amelioration of the masses—it has been the constant aim of Christian charity; it is the practical application of the Christian doctrine of the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God. Material comfort—there is abundant room for it beneath the broad mantle of Christian love; asceticism, beyond that detachment in spirit which is enjoined upon all, is the privilege of the chosen few; the ideal, both for religion and reason, is a sound mind in a sound body, and whatever interferes with either, be it hunger or malady, be it overwork or tainted air, true godliness will labor to remove. Socialism—it is, in its first outburst, the shriek of despair from the hungering souls upon which presses the heavy hand of greed and injustice; reasons for many of its demands are found in Catholic theology, which teaches that the human race does not exist for the benefit of the few, and that private property becomes common property, when death from starvation is at the door.[1] And

[1] "The institutions of human law cannot derogate from natural law or divine law. But according to the natural order established by Providence, inferior things are ordained to the end that out of them, the needs of men may be relieved. . . . And therefore the things that some men have in super-abundance are claimed by natural law for the support of the poor. . . . Secretly to take for use the property of another, in a case of

so it is with other watchwords of the age. They express aspirations towards a perfect civilization, towards the enjoyment of God's gifts in full measure, and by the largest number of God's children. That at times the age runs riot and plunges into fatal errors, leading to misery and ruin, is, I repeat, the accident arising from the absence of proper direction. Why have but anathemas for the age, seeing only its aberrations, irritating it by continuous denunciations of its mistakes, never acknowledging the good in it, never striving to win its love to Holy Church?

The Age needs the Church.

We can, if we wish, make the age the relentless enemy of religion. By coldness and harshness it is possible to drive it to despair. Meanwhile, wise in their generation, irreligion and secularism steal sacred words, words which are ours together with the realities they represent, words which the age yearns to hear, and which we refuse to speak to it; and sounding aloud those words, they draw the age into desert wastes, to its misery and utter ruin. It is ours to lose the age to Christ's Church, or to make it her devoted and grateful child.

The age is eager for gifts which the Church alone can bestow. Its present energies and ambitions are the fruits of the work of the Church. Through Christian influences it has risen to such a degree of power and consciousness that it aspires to higher things. It

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extreme need, cannot properly be called theft, because what one takes for the support of his life becomes his because of such necessity." St. Thomas: "Summa," 2-2, q. 66, art. 7.

was the religion of Christ that first whispered into the ears of the world the sacred words: charity, brotherhood, liberty. It was the religion of Christ that took to its bosom bleeding, agonizing humanity, warmed it with divine love, healed its sores and breathed into it health and vigor. And only under the blessed guidance of the religion of Christ can humanity proceed on the road towards greater progress. Irreligion has stolen only words; it did not steal realities; for the realities have no existence away from God's altars. Tell all this to the age, and say to it: "Passing by and seeing your idols, I found also an altar on which was written, 'To the unknown God.' What, therefore, you worship without knowing, that I preach unto you."[1]

Tell all this to the age, and work to make good your assertions. Bid science, beneath the spell of religion's wand, to put on brightest pinions and covet highest flights. Whisper in tender accents to liberty that religion cherishes it, and stands ready to guard it alike from anarchy and despotism. Go down in sympathy to the suffering multitude, bringing to them charity, and, what is more needed and more rarely given, justice. Let labor know that religion will ward off the oppression of capital, and will teach capital that its rights are dependent upon its fulfilment of duties. Let labor and capital understand that their respective rights are nowhere so safe as under the ægis of the religion which preaches ceaselessly to them their respective duties. In this manner you

[1] Acts, xvii.: 23.

will give to the world the new religion for which it yearns and prays—the religion of humanity, the religion of the age, which will be the old religion—God's truths never changing, the householders simply bringing forth out of their treasure "new things and old"—and the age will rush into the arms of the Church, and, in ecstatic love, will proclaim her its teacher and its queen.

In all truth, the greatest epoch of human history, if we except that which witnessed the coming of God upon earth, is upon us; and of this epoch our wisdom and our energy will make the Church supreme mistress.

Permit me briefly to trace lines of duty, fidelity to which is a condition of the realization of our hopes for the new century.

Earnestness a condition of victory.

I repeat: "For thy soul fight for justice, and even unto death strive for justice." Earnestness is the virtue of the hour. It is the characteristic of Americans in things secular; it should be their characteristic in things religious. Let Catholics elsewhere, if they will, move on in old grooves, and fear, lest by quickened pace, they disturb their souls or ruffle their garments. Our motto be: "Dare and Do." Let there be no room among us for the lackadaisical piety which lazily awaits a zephyr from the sky, the bearer of efficacious grace, while God's grace is at hand entreating to be made efficacious by our own coöperation. We must pray, and pray earnestly, but we must work,

and work earnestly. We fail if we work and do not pray; and likewise we fail if we pray and do not work, if we are on our knees when we should be fleet of foot, if we are in the sanctuary when we should be in the highways and the market places.

Catholics should be aggressive.

Earnestness will make us aggressive. There will be among us a prudent but manly assertion of faith whenever circumstances demand it, and a determination to secure to Catholics rightful recognition, whether in private or public life. We shall seek our opportunities to serve religion, and when we have discovered them we shall not pass them by unheeded. We are often cowards, and to cloak our cowardice we invoke modesty and prudence, as if Christ had ordered us to put our light under the bushel. If the Church is slighted, or treated unfairly, we complain —we are admirable at complaining—but we do not stir to prevent injustice in the future. There is a woeful lack of Catholic public spirit. We are devoted to religion on Sunday, or when we are saying our morning or evening prayers. In the world's battles we seem to lose sight of our faith, and our public men are eager to doff all Catholic vesture. In American parlance—let us go ahead. What if at times we do blunder? Success is not the test of valor or merit. If we never venture, we never win. The conservatism which wishes to be ever safe is dry-rot. Pay no attention to criticism; there is never a lack of it. It usually comes from men who are do-nothings, and who rejoice if failure follows action, so

that they may have a justification for their own idleness. Do not fear what is novel, provided principles are well guarded. It is a time of novelties, and religious action, to accord with the age, must take new forms and new directions. Let there be individual action. Layman need not wait for priest, nor priest for bishop, nor bishop for pope. The timid move in crowds, the brave in single file. When combined efforts are called for, be ready to act and prompt to obey the orders which are given; but never forget that vast room remains for individual action.

Catholics should be in touch with age and country.

We should live in our age, know it, be in touch with it. There are Catholics, more numerous, however, in Europe than in America, to whom the present will not be known until long after it will have become the past. Our work is in the present, and not in the past. It will not do to understand the thirteenth century better than the nineteenth; to be more conversant with the errors of Arius or Eutyches than those of contemporary infidels or agnostics; to study more deeply the causes of Albigensian or Lutheran heresies, or of the French Revolution, than the causes of the social upheavals of our own times. The world has entered upon an entirely new phase; the past will not return; reaction is the dream of men who see not, and hear not; who, in utter oblivion of the living world behind them, sit at the gates of cemeteries weeping over tombs that shall not be reopened. We should speak to our age of things which it feels and in language that it understands.

We should be in it, and of it, if we would have it listen to us.

For the same reasons, there is need of thorough sympathy with the country. The Church in America must be, of course, as Catholic as in Jerusalem or Rome; but so far as her garments may be colored to suit environment, she must be American.

There is danger: we receive large accessions of Catholics from foreign countries. God witnesses that they are welcome. I will not intrude on their personal affections and tastes; but these, if foreign, shall not encrust themselves upon the Church. Americans have no longing for a Church with a foreign aspect; they will not submit to its influence. Only institutions to the manor born prosper; exotics have but sickly forms.

America treats us well; her flag is our protection. Patriotism is a Catholic virtue. I would have Catholics be the first patriots in the land. There are fitting occasions, when the Church should officially show forth her love of America, blessing the country, offering thanks in its name, invoking favors upon it. There are occasions without number when Catholics, as citizens, can prove their patriotism; and of such occasions they should be eager to avail themselves. The men most devoted to the institutions of the country, the most ardent lovers of its flag, should be they who believe in Catholic truth, who breathe the air of Catholic sanctuaries. Catholics should be models of civic virtue, taking an abiding interest in public affairs, bearing cheerfully their part of the

public burdens, always free from selfishness and venality in the exercise of their privileges of citizenship.

Ours is an intellectual age.

This is an intellectual age. It worships intellect. It tries all things by the touchstone of intellect. By intellect, public opinion, the ruling power of the age, is formed. The Church herself will be judged by the standard of intellect. Catholics must excel in religious knowledge; they must be ready to give reasons for the faith that is in them, meeting objections from whatever source, abreast of the times in their methods of argument. They must be in the foreground of intellectual movements of all kinds. The age will not take kindly to religious knowledge separated from secular knowledge. The Church must regain the scepter of science, which, to her honor and to the benefit of the world, she wielded for ages in the past. An important work for Catholics in the coming century will be the building of schools, colleges, and seminaries; and a work more important still will be the lifting up of present and future institutions to the highest degree of intellectual excellence. Only the best schools will give the Church the men she needs. Modern, too, must they be in curriculum and method, so that pupils going forth from their halls will be men for the twentieth century and men for America.

In love, in reverence, in hope I salute thee, Catholic University of America! Thy birth — happy omen! — is coeval with the opening of the new century. The destinies of the Church in America are

in thy keeping. May heaven's light shine over thee and heaven's love guard thee. Be ever faithful to thy motto, *Deo et Patriæ*. Hasten thy work, so that our youth, whatever be the vocation to which they aspire, may soon throng thy halls, and by thee be fitted to be ideal children of Church and country. Meanwhile, School of our Hopes, nurture well our youthful priesthood! The priests will be leaders, and as they are, so will the whole army of God's soldiers be amid the battles of life.[1]

I do not forget the vast importance of Catholic literature and of the Catholic press. They, too, are schools, and schools not only for the days of youth, but for the entire time of life; they deserve, and should receive, our warmest encouragement.

Ours is the age of democracy.

The strength of the Church to-day in all countries, particularly in America, is the people. Ours is essentially the age of democracy. The days of princes and of feudal lords are gone. Woe to religion where this fact is not understood! He who holds the masses, reigns. The masses are held by intellect and heart. No power controls them, save that which touches their own free souls. We have a dreadful lesson to learn from certain European countries, where, under the weight of tradition, the Church clings to thrones and classes, and loses thereby her power over the people. Let us not make this mistake. In America we have no

[1] In 1889, the Catholic University of America was prepared to receive only ecclesiastical students; since that date it has added other departments to that of theology, and is now doing its great work for laymen as well as for priests.

princes, no hereditary classes. Still, there is danger that in America there be formed a religious aristocracy, upon whom we lavish so much care that none remains for others. Are we not inclined to intrench ourselves within the sanctuary, and to see only the little throng of devout persons who weekly or monthly kneel around the altar-rail, or those whose title to nobility is that they are pew-holders and respond to the pastor's call with generous subscriptions? Pews and pew-holders may be necessary evils; but it were fatal not to look far beyond them. What, I ask, of the multitude who peep at us from gallery and vestibule? What of the thousands and tens of thousands, nominal Catholics and non-Catholics, who seldom or never open the church door? What of the uncouth and unkempt, the tenant of the cellar and alley-way, the mendicant and outcast? It is time to bring back the primitive gospel spirit, to go out into highways and byways, to preach on house tops and in market places. Erect stately temples if you will; they are grand monuments to religion; but see to it that they be filled with people.

Catholics in social movements.

If people do not come to the temple, invite them to hear you beneath humbler roof. And if some yet remain outside, speak to them in the street or on the public road. The time has come for "salvation armies" to penetrate the wildest thicket of thorns and briars, and to bring God's word to the ear of the most vile, the most ignorant, the most godless.[1]

[1] In the organization of the "Salvation Army," General

To save those who insist on being saved, is not the mission of the Church. "Compel them to come in,"[1] is the command of the Master. To sing lovely anthems in Cathedral stalls, and wear copes of broidered gold while no multitude throng nave or aisle, and while the world outside is dying of spiritual and moral starvation—this is not the religion we need to-day. Seek out men; speak to them not in stilted phrase or seventeenth-century sermon style, but in burning words that go to their hearts, as well as to their minds, and in accents that are familiar to their ears. Popularize religion, so far as principles permit; make the people chant in holy exultation canticles of praise and adoration; draw them to God by all "the cords of Adam." Save the masses. Cease not to plan and work for their salvation.

The care of the masses implies an abiding and active interest in the social questions that torment humanity at the present time. Our chieftain, Leo XIII., who knows his age, and whose heart-beatings are in sympathy with it, has told Catholics their duties on this point. About two years ago he recommended that social questions be made part of the

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William Booth recognizes, and forces others to recognize, the incontrovertible fact that multitudes of people—"the Submerged Tenth"—are outside the influences of the Christian religion. We cannot approve the methods of the "Salvation Army;" but we ought to recognize the need of the work which the "Army" strives to do, and we should ourselves do that work with the methods which are Christ's. Meanwhile, if we do nothing, we should, at least, not despise and ridicule men and women who try in their own way and according to their own light to rescue the "Submerged."

[1] Luke, xiv: 23.

special curriculum of studies which are to fit priests for their ministerial labors. Whatever be the cause there exist dreadful social injustices. Men, made in the image of the Creator, are viewed as pieces of machinery or beasts of burden. The moral instincts are ground out of them. Until their material condition is improved, it is futile to speak to them of supernatural life and duties. Men who suffer are conscious of their wrongs, and will hold as their friends those who aid them. Irreligion makes promises to them, and irreligion is winning them. They who should be the first and the last in promise and in deed are silent. It is deplorable that Catholics grow timid, take refuge in sanctuary and cloister, and leave the bustling, throbbing world with its miseries and sins to the wiles of false friends and cunning practitioners. Leo XIII. speaks fearlessly to the world of the rights of labor; Cardinal Lavigerie pleads for the African slave; Cardinal Manning interposes his hand between the plutocratic merchant and the workingman of the docks; Count de Mun and his band of noble-minded friends devote time and talent to the interests of French laborers. But, as a body, Catholics are quietness itself. They say their prayers, they preach, they listen to sermons on the love of God and on resignation in suffering; or, if they venture at all into the arena, it is at the eleventh hour, when others have long preceded them, and public opinion has already been formed. Strange, indeed, is all this! Christ made the social question the basis of His ministry. The evidence of His

divinity which He gave to the disciples of John was: "The blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the poor have the Gospel preached to them."[1] Throughout her whole history the Church grappled with every social problem that came in her way and solved it. The Church liberated the Roman slave, raised up woman, civilized the barbarian, humanized medieval warfare, and gave civic rights to the child of serfdom. What has come over us that we shun the work which is essentially ours to do? These are days of action, days of warfare. It is not the age of the timid and fugitive virtue of the Thebaid. Into the arena, priest and layman! Seek out social evils, and lead in movements that tend to rectify them. Speak of vested rights, for this is necessary; but speak, too, of vested wrongs, and strive, by word and example, by the enactment and enforcement of good laws, to correct them. Glance mercifully into factories at etiolated youth and infancy. Pour fresh air into the crowded tenement quarters of the poor. Follow upon the streets the crowds of vagrant children. Visit prisons and secure for the inmates moral and religious instruction. Lessen on railways and in public service the Sunday work, which renders the practice of religion impossible for the thousands. Cry out against the fearful evil of intemperance which is hourly damning the bodies and souls of countless victims, and which, at the present time, is, more than any other social sin, bringing disgrace upon the Church and misery upon

[1] Matt. xi:4.

will win the age to God's Church.

I do not overlook our duty to ot brethren. We must earnestly desir sion, and earnestly wo prayers, doubtless, our the fulfillment of the dut tioned, will be the surest means to su tion should, nevertheless, be given, sp to the intellectual needs of non-Cat should be made to bring them to and kind attention should be shown they do come. Books should be prude among them. Above all, we should k sincerely loving them, desire their co sometimes repel them through prejudi make sufficient allowance for their go we do not acknowledge the degree of and Christian practice which they pc be just; let us admit what they have them what they have not. If we do will make progress among our non-C citizens, and, once made Catholics, the

The Conversion of non-Catholics.

What I have said applies to all—to priests, who, as leaders, must be the first to act, as well as to command; and, in great measure, to laymen. But lest I be misunderstood in a matter of such importance, I wish to make to laymen a special and emphatic appeal. Priests are officers, laymen are soldiers. The hardest fighting is often done by the soldier; in the warfare against sin and error, the soldier is not always near the officer, and he must be ready to act without waiting for the word of command. Laymen are not annointed in confirmation to the end that they merely save their own souls, and pay their pew rent. They must think, work, organize, read, speak, act, as circumstances demand, ever anxious to serve the Church, and to do good to their fellow-men. There is, on the part of the Catholic laymen, too much dependence upon priests. If priests work, laymen imagine that they themselves may rest. In Protestantism, where there is no firmly constituted ministerial organization, the layman is more keenly alive to his responsibility, and lay action is more common and more earnest. Lay action is to-day particularly needed in the Church. Laymen have in this age a special vocation.[1]

The mission of laymen.

[1] "In discussion the layman, under responsibility, we hold, may take the initiative, and not await it from authority. He may open such questions as he deems important, and the business of authority is not to close his mouth, but to set him right when and where he goes wrong. This is no more than princes and nobles have always been allowed or assumed unrebuked the right to do, and princes and nobles are only laymen. What a crowned or titled layman may do, a free American citizen, though uncrowned and untitled, may also do." Brownson's Works, vol. xx., page 271.

My words have borne on the exterior life of Catholics. This point I desired to emphasize. I am speaking to men of action, to soldiers, whom I would arouse to deeds of highest valor. God forbid that I forget the need of interior Christian life. Without it, however much we may plant and water, God will not give the increase. Nor do I forget that, however much you ought to do for others, your first and all-important duty is to yourselves, to the salvation of your own souls.

The new century!

And now the new century opens. O God, we pray Thee, grant us to understand its possibilities and its promises; grant us to be true to our responsibilities. Had I this night the power, as I have the will, I would bid the seraph touch with coal of fire from the altar of divine love hearts and lips of priests and laymen of America, and set them aglow with Pentecostal flame. Oh, that we all be what God desires us to be, worthiest apostles of His blessed Gospel! If only we do with all our might the work appointed unto us, the new century has wondrous things in store for the Church in America.

O Saviour of men, who didst say: "I am come to send fire upon the earth, and what will I but that it be kindled?"[1]—to Thee we entrust this new century. By a superabundance of love and grace, make amends for the deficiencies which are in us. Bless us, that our labors fructify even a hundredfold. In Thy love of Holy Church, Thy spouse, which Thou hast purchased by the shedding of Thine own blood,

[1] Luke, xii: 49.

widen out her tabernacles; gather unto her bosom tribes and nations; shed upon her brow glory and honor. O Saviour, we pray Thee, renew for Thy Church in America the miracles of love and piety of apostolic days. Look with gracious eyes upon our country, so fair, so rich in nature's gifts; add unto those gifts favors of grace, and let America be for long ages to come what our hearts bid her to be—first in civil liberty and social happiness, first in Christian loyalty among the nations of the earth!

THE CHURCH AND THE AGE.

THE twenty-fifth anniversary of the episcopal consecration of the Cardinal Archbishop of Baltimore was celebrated in the Cathedral of that city, the eighteenth day of October, 1893.

Thirteen archbishops and fifty bishops formed part of the great multitude gathered on that occasion within the walls of America's historic Cathedral, to give testimony to the esteem and veneration of the country for Cardinal Gibbons.

At the morning mass, of which the Cardinal himself was the celebrant, the Archbishop of New York preached on the dignity of the office of a bishop. At the Vesper service, which was sung by the Archbishop of Wellington, New Zealand, the Archbishop of St. Paul preached on the Church and the Age.

The theme was deemed most fitting; the name of Cardinal Gibbons suggested it—enjoined it.

The Church and the age—Cardinal Gibbons is, in America, the living exemplar of the one and the other. The churchman—loyal in the inmost fibres of his heart to the teachings of the Catholic Church; the American—loving with ardor and serving with devotion the Republic of the United States; the man of his age—actively interested in all its movements for the moral and social uplifting of humanity;

sincere and consistent in his words and acts, Cardinal Gibbons personifies the Church and the age, and his daily life is indubitable evidence that no conflict exists between them.

The belief that there is a radical disagreement between the Church and the age is widespread, and does grievous harm to religion and society. The belief arises from prejudice and misunderstanding, the removal of which should be the great work of all who love God and humanity. This work Leo XIII. is doing for Christendom; Manning, in his lifetime, did it for England; Gibbons is doing it for America; all Catholics should do it, as far as their abilities and their opportunities allow.

There is a disagreement between the Church and the age, if we take for the age what are but the excesses and the extravagances of its movements, and if we take for the Church what is but the transient and the accidental in her life and organization, and what in her history was often but her local and temporary environment. Between the Church and the age, properly understood and properly interpreted, there is no disagreement.

In this discourse an effort is made to indicate the causes of misunderstanding between the Church and the age, and to trace the lines upon which they may be brought into warm friendship and earnest coöperation.

THE CHURCH AND THE AGE.

FIVE and twenty years in exalted office, a bishop, a chieftain among bishops, in the Catholic Church, in America, in the latter days of this nineteenth century of the Christian era! Great the opportunities and weighty the responsibilities!

Of those years what would the record be that I, who revere and love the Cardinal Archbishop of Baltimore, would fain write? Would it be that they went by without harm done, or good prevented, without blemish or reproach? This, whatever be its value along the dark lines of frail humanity, would be, at best, but the story of the talent wrapped up in napkin folds and securely guarded from misuse. Not this record did Christ expect from His apostles, and from this pulpit I will not speak it.

Would the record be of common duties performed in zeal and loyalty, of useful ministry in blessing and ordaining, in building temples and asylums, in exhorting souls unto their salvation? This would be the story of the ten hundred; it merits no special praise; it teaches no special lesson, and it shall not be my theme this evening.

Let others tell of the many; I would tell of the few. I am tired of the common; I am angry with it. If I am, myself, compelled to plod its wearisome

pathways, I wish, at least, to see others shun them; I wish to see men rise far above their fellows, and by their singular thoughts and singular deeds freshen human life and give to it the power to place itself in those lofty altitudes where progress is born. The common never puts humanity forward, never begets a great movement; nor does it save humanity when grave peril threatens. The common! We are surfeited with it; it has made our souls torpid and our limbs rigid. Under the guise of goodness it is a curse. The want in the world, the want in the Church, to-day as at other times, but to-day as never before, is men among men, men who see farther than others, rise higher than others, act more boldly than others. They need not be numerous. They never were numerous. But, while the few, they take with them the multitude and save humanity. The one man of sufficient firmness of hand and grandeur of soul saves a whole nation; the one man saves the whole Church.

The Common! We are surfeited with it.

This evening, it is my privilege to honor a man among men. The record of the Cardinal Archbishop of Baltimore! I speak it with pride and exultation. It is the record I should have traced for the ideal bishop and leader of men in these solemn times through which the Church is passing.

The times are solemn. In no other epoch of history, since the beginning of the Christian era, did changes so profound and so far-reaching take place. Discoveries and inventions have opened to us a new material world. Social and political conditions have

been transformed. Intellectual curiosity peers with keenest eye into the recesses of sky and earth. Intellectual ambition, maddened by wondrous successes in many fields, puts on daring pinions and challenges all limitations of knowledge. The human heart is emboldened to the strangest dreams, and frets itself into desperate efforts before all barriers to the fulfillment of its desires. Let all things be new, is the watchword of humanity to-day, and to make all things new is humanity's strong resolve. To this end are pledged its most fierce activities, which, wherever in the realm of man they are put forth, are exemplified in the steam and electricity of the new material creation.

The New Era —the Church must adapt herself to it.

In the midst of times so solemn the Catholic Church moves and works, purposing, under the terms of her charter, to conquer to Christ minds and hearts, individuals and society. Her mission to the world is the same as it has been during nineteen hundred years; but the world has changed and is changing. With the new order have come new needs, new hopes, new aspirations. To conquer the new world to Christ, the Church must herself be new, adapting herself in manner of life and in method of action to the conditions of the new order, thus proving herself, while ever ancient, to be ever new, as truth from heaven is and ever must be.

Now is the opportunity for great and singular men among the sons of God's Church. To-day, routine is fatal; to-day the common is exhausted

senility. The crisis demands the new, the extraordinary, and with it the Catholic Church will score the grandest of her victories in the grandest of history's ages.

Discord between Church and Age; where the fault lies.

The Church and the age are at war. I voice the fact with sorrow. Both Church and age are at fault. I explain my words. When I speak of Church and age in conflict one with the other, I take the age as portrayed by many representatives of the age, and I take the Church as portrayed by many representatives of the Church. Church and age, rightly understood, are not at war.

I blame the age. Elated with its material and intellectual successes, it is proud and it exaggerates its powers. It imagines that the natural, which has served it so well, is all sufficient; it tends to the exclusion of the supernatural; it puts on the cloak of secularism. In its worship of the new, it regards whatever is old with suspicion. It asks why its church may not be new, as well as its chemistry, or its biology. A church bearing on her front the marks of nineteen centuries is, in its eyes, out of date and out of place. Pride and thoughtlessness are the evil and misleading characteristics of the age.

I blame the Church. I speak as a Catholic. I know the divine elements in the Church. I have full faith that those elements are at all times guarded by the abiding presence of the Holy Spirit. But I know, also, the human elements in the Church, and I know that upon those human elements much of the

Church's weal depends. The Church has had her more brilliant epochs of light and glory, according as pastors and people scanned the world with clearer vision and unsheathed the spiritual sword with greater alacrity. The dependency of the Church upon her human elements is too easily forgotten, although the Church herself authoritatively teaches that undue reliance upon divine grace is a sin of presumption.

The mistake of Churchmen; reason of the mistake.

I am not afraid to say that, during the century whose sun is now setting, many leaders of thought in the Church have made the mistake of being too slow to understand the new age and too slow to extend to it the conciliatory hand of friendship. They were not without their reasons. The Church, in her divine elements, is unchangeable, supremely conservative; her dread of change, so righteous in a degree, is easily carried beyond its legitimate frontier, and made to cover ground where change is proper. The movements of the age were frequently ushered into existence under most repellent and inauspicious forms. The revolution of 1789, whose waters, rushing and destructive as the maddest mountain torrent, were crested with the crimson of blood, was the loud signal of the new era. The standard-bearers of the age often raised aloft the insignia of impiety and of social anarchy. Certain Catholics, indeed, as Lamennais, sought to establish an alliance between the church and the age; but they were imprudent in speech, and, in their impatience, they invoked failure upon themselves and

discouragement upon their allies.[1] But with all these excuses, churchmen thought and acted too slowly. They failed to grasp the age, to Christianize its aspirations, and to guide its forward march. The age passed beyond them. There were a few Lacordaires, who recognized and proclaimed the duties of the hour: but timid companions abandoned them; reactionaries accused them of dangerous liberalism, of semi-heresy; and they were forced to be silent.[2] The many saw

[1] In 1830 Lamennais and his associates, chief among whom were Montalembert and Lacordaire, established the famous journal, *L'Avenir*. It had for its device: "Dieu et Liberté," and for its mission, the alliance of the Church with democracy. Of *L'Avenir*, Le Père Chocarne writes in his "Life of Lacordaire:" "The smallest care of ardent and absolute spirits is to reckon with opportuneness, patience, and time; their mistake is to forget that the logic of facts is not so hurried as the logic of ideas; that if the grain of wheat entrusted to the earth does not attain to maturity until long months have passed, the growth of an idea in the cold and slow soil of the public mind demands yet longer time; that it is much, in the lifetime of men, to have thrown into the world a fecund thought, leaving to a subsequent generation to see it germinate and blossom. This was the mistake of the men of *L'Avenir*."

Those remarks do not, of course, apply to Lamennais' writings after his secession.

Lamennais seceded from the Church. For Lamennais' secession from the Church, and the writings which he published after his secession, no excuse can be offered. But this much may, perhaps, be said, that if he had been left to deal with Rome alone, even after the Encyclical *Mirari Vos* had appeared, the strong probabilities are that he would have remained a dutiful son of the Church. Vide Spuller: "Vie de Lamennais;" Brownson: Works, vol. xx., page 265; Mrs. Oliphant: "Memoir of Count de Montalembert," chap. vi.

[2] Lacordaire lived to see the dawn of his triumph. In his latter days he was able to write to one of his friends: "In the time of *L'Avenir* we were rash men, blasphemers, heretics. Forty bishops reported to the Holy See seventy-two propositions taken from our writings. To-day, what a change!" Had he lived thirty years longer, and been able to read Leo's Encyclical to the French Catholics, and the Encyclical "On the Condition of Labor," what a reward were his for devotion to liberty and to democracy! "I die," he said in his

but the vices of the age, which they readily anathamatized; its good and noble tendencies they either ignored or denied. For them the age was the dark world against which Christ had warned His followers. The task of winning it to the gospel was a forlorn hope. It was a task to be accomplished only through some stupendous miracle from heaven, and, until the miracle would come, the ministers of Christ must withdraw into winter quarters, sacristies, and sanctuaries, where, surrounded by a small band of chosen souls, they might guard themselves and their friends from the all-pervading contagion. The age, abandoned to itself and to false and mischievous guides, irritated by the isolation and the unfriendliness of the Church, became hardened in its secularism, and taught itself to despise and hate religion. This deplorable condition was prevalent in some countries more than in others; but from none was it wholly absent. The Church had seemingly furled her flag of battle, her flag of victory.[1]

It was a mistake and a misfortune. "Go, teach all nations," Christ had said once for all time. In obedience to this command the first apostles hastened through the Roman Empire, preaching to the sages of Athens on the Hill of Mars, to the patricians and

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last moments, "a penitent Catholic and an impenitent liberal." Feared and frowned upon by the authorities of the State, ignored and suspected by those of the Church in France, abandoned by his own brethren, he never changed, never despaired. Lacordaire lived for the future, and the future in which he put his trust has justified him.

[1] Vide "La Papauté, le Socialisme et la Démocratie," par Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, chaps I. and xvi.

senators of Rome in the courts of emperors, to the slaves in their huts, and the Roman Empire was Christianized. Even if our age had been radically evil and erring, the methods and the zeal of the early apostles would have won it to the Saviour. But, in veriest fact, the present age, pagan as it may be in its language and in its extravagances, is, in its depths, instinct with Christian emotions; it worships unwittingly at Christian shrines, and only awaits the warm contact of Christ's Church to avow itself Christian.

Opportunity for great leaders in the Church.

I indicate the opportunity for the great and singular churchman. His work is to bridge the chasm separating the Church from the age, to dispel the mists of prejudice which prevent the one from seeing the other as it is, to bring the Church to the age, and the age to the Church.

Men must be taught that the Church and the age are not hopelessly separated.

What is good, what is bad, in the age.

The age has, assuredly, its sins and its errors, and these the Church never will condone. But sins and errors are the accidentals, not the essentials, of the age. For my part, I see in the present age one of the mighty upheavals which, from time to time, occur in humanity, producing and signalizing the ascending stages in its continuous progress. Humanity, strengthened by centuries of toil and of reflection, nourished and permeated by principles of Christian truth, is now lifting its whole mass upward to higher regions of light and

liberty, and demanding full and universal enjoyment of its God-given rights. All this is praiseworthy; all this is noble and beautiful. This is what we are asked to accept when we are asked to accept the age. When we accept the age, we reserve to ourselves the right to rebuke it for its defects; in accepting it we put ourselves in a position to correct it.

The permanent and the transient in the Church.

The Church, too, has her accidentals and her essentials. We should distinguish accidentals from essentials; we should be ready, while jealously guarding the essentials, to abandon the accidentals, as circumstances of time and place demand. What the Church at any time was, certain people hold she must ever remain. They do her much harm, making her rigid and unbending, incapable of adapting herself to new and changing surroundings. The Church, created by Christ for all time, lives in every age and is of every age. We find, consequently, in her outward features the variable and the contingent. The Church, at one time imperialistic in her political alliances, was, at another, feudalistic; but she never committed herself in principle to imperialism or to feudalism. She spoke Greek in Athens and Latin in Rome, and her sons wore the chlamys or the toga; but she was never confined to Greece or to Italy. In later days she lisped the nascent languages of Goth and Frank, and, in her steppings through their lands, showed not a little of their uncultured bearing and of their unformed civilization; but she was never limited in life and conditions to the life and conditions of

Goth or Frank. Her scientific knowledge was scant as that of the epoch; her social legislation and customs, as rude and tentative. She was merely partaking, in her human elements, of the life of her epoch, her divine elements always remaining the self-same. Two or three centuries ago she was courtly and aristocratic under the temporal sway of the Fifth Charles of Spain, or of the Fourteenth Louis of France; but this again was a passing phase in her existence, and at other times she may be as democratic in her demeanor as the most earnest democracy would desire. Her canon law, which is the expression of her adaptability to environment, received the impress, now of Charlemagne, now of Hapsburgh or Bourbon edicts; but never was she herself mummified in Justinian or Bourbon molds, and her canon law may be as American as it was Roman, as much the reflection of the twentieth century as it was of the middle ages. Were not all this true, the Church would not be Catholic, as her founder was Catholic, the teacher and Saviour of all ages and of all nations. Let us be as broad and as Catholic in our conception of the Church as Christ was, and we shall have no difficulty in recognizing her fitness to all lands and to all ages — past as well as present, and present and future as well as past.

What! the Church of the living God, the Church of ten thousand victories over pagans and barbarians, over heresies and false philosophies, over defiant kings and unruly peoples—the great, freedom-loving,

truth-giving, civilizing Catholic Church—this Church of the nineteenth century afraid of any century! not seeing in the ambitions of the nineteenth century the fervent ebullitions of her own noble sentiments, and in its achievements for the elevation of mankind the germinations of her own Christlike plantings! this Church not eager for the fray, not precipitating herself with love irresistible upon this modern world to claim it, to bless it, to own it for Christ, to foster and encourage its hopes or to rectify and remedy its defects, and with her impetuous arm to lift it to the very summit of its highest aspirations—to which by the Church's aid alone this doubting, quivering, hoping, despairing world can ever attain! Far, far, from Catholics be the chilling, un-Catholic thought!

The New Crusade.

I preach the new, the most glorious crusade. Church and age! Unite them in the name of humanity, in the name of God.

Church and age! They pulsate alike: the God of nature works in one, the God of supernatural revelation works in the other—in both the self-same God.

Let us note the chief characteristics of the age. The age is ambitious of knowledge. Its searchings know no rest and submit to no limitations. Be it so. The Catholic Church proclaims that all truth, natural as well as supernatural, is from God, and that the mind grows more Godlike as it absorbs truth in more generous proportions. Two sources of knowl-

The age, ambitious of knowledge.

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all-wise, all-powerful, eternal. Th
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us Christ rising from the dead and
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enduring embodiment of Christ
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of knowledge; and the need of the
the Church, is to stimulate the a
searches, to more extensive survey
left untouched no particle of matt
ceal a secret, no incident of history,
of humanity, that may solve a prob
edge of the age! The Church bless

estricted sway of sovereigns, have themselves be-
ıe sovereigns, and exercise with more or less di-
rectness the power which was primarily
theirs by divine ordinance. The age of
democracy! The Catholic Church, I am
e, has no fear of democracy, this flowering of her
n most sacred principles of the equality, fraternity,
d liberty of all men, in Christ and through Christ.
ıese principles are found upon every page of the
spel. From the moment they were first confided
the Church they have been ceaselessly leavening
inds and hearts towards the full recognition of the
ghts and the dignity of man, towards the elevation
of the multitude, and the enjoyment of freedom
from unnecessary restrictions, and of social happiness
mingled with as few sorrows as earth's planet permits.
The whole history of the Catholic Church is the record
of the enfranchisement of the slave, the curbing of the
tyranny of kings, the defense of the poor, of woman,
of the people, of all the social entities that pride and
passion choose to trample upon. The great theo-
logians of the Church lay the foundations of political
democracy which to-day attains its perfect form.
They prove that all political power comes from God
through the people, that kings and princes are the
people's delegates, and that when rulers become
tyrants the inalienable right of revolution belongs to
the people. The Church is at home under all forms
of government. The one condition of the legitimacy
of a form of government, in the eyes of the Church,
is that it be accepted by the people. The Church

the age of ocracy.

has never said that she prefers one form of government above another. But, so far as I may from my own thoughts interpret the principles of the Church, I say that the government of the people, by the people, and for the people, is, more than any other, the polity under which the Catholic Church, the church of the people, breathes air most congenial to her mind and heart.[1]

It is an age of social justice.

It is an age of battlings for social justice to all men, for the right of all men to live in the frugal comfort becoming rational creatures. Very well! Is it not Catholic doctrine that birth into the world is man's title to a sufficiency of the things of the world? Is not the plea for social justice and social well-being the loud outburst of the cry which has ever been going up from the bosom of the Church since the words were spoken by her founder: "Seek first the kingdom of God and His justice and all these things shall be added unto you?"[2] It is not sufficiently understood that the

[1] Some foreign writers reject for *a priori* reasons political democracy and discredit the possibility of harmonious relations between the Church and republican institutions. Catholic theologians of high standing in the schools of the Church have amply vindicated what the writers referred to style "the pretended dogma of popular sovereignty." The hostility to the Church which the same writers seem to expect from a republic is perhaps founded upon politico-religious complications which unfortunately exist in certain republics, but which are in no way to be ascribed to the nature of a republican form of government. America is the most democratic of democracies, and in no country in the world is the Church more unhampered in her action. The letter of His Holiness, Leo XIII., on the duty of the Catholics of France towards the French Republic should reassure all who apprehend danger to religion from republican institutions.

[2] Matt. vi: 33.

principles which underlie the social movement of the times in its legitimate demands are constantly taught in schools of Catholic theology; as, for instance, the principle which, to the surprise of his fellow-countrymen, Cardinal Manning proclaimed: that in case of extreme necessity, one may use, as far as it is needed to save life, the property of others. We have, of late, been so accustomed to lock up our teachings in seminary and sanctuary that when they appear in active evolution in the broad arena of life they are not recognized by Catholics; nay, are even feared and disowned by them.

It is an age of material progress.

It is an age of material progress, of inventions, of the subjugation of nature's forces to the service of man, of the building up of man's empire over all irrational creation. Will the Church condemn the age for this? It is her teaching that the earth was given to man that he dominate over it. Progress along lines of all human activity is the divine ordering. That the stagnation of human energies provokes God's anger, is the lesson of the parable of the talents.

Duty of Catholics towards the age.

I have described the intellectual attitude which it befits us to assume towards the age. What should our practical relations with it be? Let them be all that the warmest apostolic zeal and the best human prudence counsel. We desire to win the age. Let us not, then, stand isolated from it. Our place is in the world as well as in the sanctuary; in the world, wherever we can prove our love for it or render it a service.

We cannot influence men at long range; close contact is needed. Let us be with them in the things that are theirs—material interests, social welfare, civil weal—so that they may be with us in the things that are ours—the interests of religion. Let us be with them because their interests are ours, and ours are theirs, because nature and grace must not be separated.

The age loves knowledge: let us be patrons of knowledge. Let us be the most erudite historians, the most experienced scientists, the most acute philosophers; and history, science, and philosophy will not be divorced from religion. The age demands liberty with good government: let us be models of patriotism, of civic virtue, of loyalty to the country's institutions; and no suspicion will ever rest on us that we are the advocates of buried regimes, the enemies of liberty, civil or political. The age pleads for social justice and the amelioration of the masses: in social movements let us be most active, most useful; and men will recognize the truth that religion, having the promises of the life to come, has those, too, of the life that is, and seeing in the Church the friend and the protectress of their terrestrial interests, they will put faith in her pledges of supernatural rewards. The age exults in its material progress, its inventions, and discoveries; let us exult with it and recognize its claims to stupendous achievements; let us, books of history in hand, show to the age that the earliest leaders in modern material progress were sons of the Church; let us embrace every opportunity to work for further victories of mind over matter;

and no man will dare speak to the Church a word of reproach in the name of progress.

And in all that we undertake or do, let us labor earnestly and energetically. The world succeeds in its enterprises through tireless perseverance and Titanic labors. It is in such wise that we shall succeed in our task. The half-hearted manner in which we evangelize the age deserves and entails failure. Steam and electricity in religion coöperating with divine grace will triumph; old-fashioned, easy-going methods mean defeat. We have not heretofore won the age; let us not put all the blame upon the age.

Objections of the timid.

But I am afraid, one will say, of the opposition that I shall encounter if I speak as you speak this evening, if I act as you advise me to act. Do not, I pray, lose time in thinking of opposition that may come to you. If you dread opposition, you are not "of the seed of those men by whom salvation is brought to Israel."[1] Opposition is sure to come. In every historic transition there are reactionaries, who would feign push back into Erie the waters of Niagara—men, to whom all change is perilous, all innovation damnable liberalism, or, even, rank heresy. Heed them not; pass onward with Christ and His Church.

But the age, another says, is wedded to its idols; it is turned away from the Church and will not listen. The age will listen, if minds and hearts properly attuned speak to it. Men are always convertible to God;[2]

[1] I. Macc. v: 62.

[2] "Sanabiles fecit nationes orbis." Wisdom, i.: 14.

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of the age natural truth is made
vealed religion; liberty becomes l
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right to property. Against this
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first prove that they are heart and
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them. No one will say that durin
century Catholics have not, in loud
acts, made opposition to all the bad
in the movements of the age. If, h
position failed to arrest those tender
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what is good in the age, while expre
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attacked in all its aims and activit
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hearken to them. To hold the a
justice, Catholics must be in it

The Church and the age! Their union is assured. The nineteenth century has seen in its latter days men "by whom salvation is brought to Israel." I name a few: Von Ketteler, of Mayence; Lavigerie, of Carthage; Manning, of Westminster; Gibbons, of Baltimore; Leo, of Rome. Two we especially revere.

Leo, pontiff of the age.

Leo, I hail thee, pontiff of thy age, providential chieftain of the Church in a great crisis of her history! How true it is that God has care of His Church! It seemed to be a supreme moment in her life among men. The abyss between her and the age was widening; governments warred against her; peoples distrusted her; the intellectual and social movements of humanity ignored her. Catholics, priests and laymen, terrified and disheartened, isolated themselves from the active world and made of their isolation a rule, almost a dogma. Humanly speaking, the horizon was dark with fateful forebodings. Leo comes to the helm; quickly he discerns the dangers from angry elements, from shoals and breakers, and, under his hand, the ship moves in new courses; she surmounts the highest billows, fearless of their fury; she reaches calm seas, where triumphantly she ploughs the waters—the peerless queen.

Leo speaks to the age in its own language, and the age understands him. He tells the age what the mind of the Church is in regard to its hopes and aspirations, and the age wonders and admires. He acts, and demands that others act, for the furtherance of those hopes and aspirations under all their legiti-

mate forms, and the age praises and loves the name of Leo.

Leo charges the age to go forward in its discoveries and inventions. He writes: "Because all that is true must of necessity have come from God, whatever of truth human investigation brings out, is recognized by the Church as a reflection of the divine mind. The Church is not opposed to the discovery of new things; she is not opposed to the searching for things that will add to the elegance and the comfort of life: nay rather, the Church, as the enemy of apathy and idleness, ardently desires that the minds of men be exercised and cultivated and made to produce rich fruits." [1]

He opens to the scholarship of the world the archives of the Vatican, establishes universities in Europe and America, raises the standard of studies in the schools of the Church, and thus strives to place the Church in the van of the world's race for knowledge.

By his encyclical on "The Condition of Labor," he makes himself the pontiff of the working man; he gives to labor its charter, teaching labor not only its duties, of which it had heard so much, but, also, its rights, of which it had heard so little. The poor, the oppressed, the masses of the people now know that the Church is with them, not merely as their counselor, but as their defender and their champion.

Leo's encyclical to the Catholics of France tenders to democracy the long-coveted approval of the Church.

[1] Encyclical: "Immortale Dei," 1885.

Empires and monarchies had claimed as exclusively their own the smiles of the Church: these smiles are now bestowed upon the republic, the highest embodiment of popular rights. God be praised that we have lived to know and to love Leo!

In letters, in private conversation, Leo urges bishops, priests, and laymen to be ambassadors of the Church, to bear in her name to peoples and governments, not the sword of war, but the olive branch of amity and concord. His letters to Decurtins and De Mun are examples of his enlightened zeal. "I try to do everything, everywhere, for the Church," said Leo to me, "and so would I have bishops do, wherever circumstances permit." Nor does Leo restrict for Catholics the lines of action to confraternities and religious associations. In his letter to the Bishop of Grenoble, he counsels Catholics to work for truth and virtue wherever they are allowed to work and with men who, though not themselves Catholics, are led by their good sense and their natural instincts of righteousness to do what is right and to oppose what is evil.[1]

In spite of opposition, Leo works and Leo reigns.

Leo has the courage of his high mission. Pope as he is, he has opponents within the Church; men whose sickly nerves suffer from the vibrations of the ship moving under his hand with accelerated velocity: reactionaries, who think that all the wisdom and all the providential guidance of the Church are with the past; obstinate advocates of self-interest, who place

[1] Litteræ ad Episcopum Gratianipolitanum, 1892

their own views and their own likings above the welfare of the Church of Christ. But in spite of all opposition Leo works, and Leo reigns. The Roman Pontificate is to-day invested before governments and peoples with prestige and moral power unknown to it for years; the Church is out upon the broad world, esteemed and listened to as she has not hitherto been in this century. Whole nations are saved! Leo is doing for France what France is unable to do; he is uniting her people, giving to her a durable government, and staying the hand of religious persecution. Say what some may, such are in France the results of the Papal encyclicals in favor of the Republic.

Leo shows forth in especial splendor the Church's catholicity—her divinely-begotten fitness for all ages and all nations. He withdraws the Church from political and social entanglements, makes her independent of the transient traditions of the past, and sets her before the world radiant in her native beauty and freedom, prepared to embrace and bless the new humanity of the twentieth century, as she embraced and blessed the humanity of preceding centuries, the Church of to-day as of yesterday, the Church of to-morrow as of to-day.

Leo and America.

True, much is yet to be done before the union of Church and age is complete; but the work has been begun and is progressing. May Leo live yet many years! May Leo's spirit long dominate in the Vatican! All will then be well. Meanwhile, in America, let us be loyal to Leo, and work as earnestly as he does for the welfare of

Church and of humanity, and in full accord with his teachings. We are especially favored by Leo. He lives among us in the person of his chosen friend and representative, one who makes the pontiff known to us as none other could, and who, in the acts and discourses by which he interprets Leo's mind, proves daily to us that Leo is, indeed, the pontiff of the age. The Church and the age! Rome and America! Their intimate union is heralded in the command of Monsignor Satolli to the Catholics of America: "Go forward on the road of progress, bearing in one hand the book of Christian truth—Christ's gospel—and in the other the Constitution of the United States."

The providential Archbishop of Baltimore.

Gibbons, of Baltimore: I cannot give to my words the warmth of my heart; I will give to them its sincerity. I have spoken of the providential Pope of Rome. I speak now of the providential Archbishop of Baltimore. Often have I thanked God that in this latter quarter of the nineteenth century Cardinal Gibbons has been given to us as primate, as leader. Catholic of Catholics, American of Americans, a bishop of his age and of his country, he is to America what Leo is to Christendom. Aye, far beyond America does his influence extend. Men's influence is not confined by the frontiers of nations, and Gibbons is European as Manning is American. A special mission is reserved to the American Cardinal. In America, the Church and the age have fairest field to display their activities, and in America more speedily than elsewhere is the problem of their recon-

ciliation to be solved. The world has a supreme interest in this reconciliation, and watches intently the prelate who in America leads the forces of the Church. The name of Cardinal Gibbons lights up the pages of nearly every European book which treats of modern social and political questions. The ripplings of his influence cross the threshold of the Vatican. Leo, the mighty inspirer of men, is himself not seldom inspired and encouraged by his faithful lieutenants, from whom he asks: "Watchman, what of the night?" And the historic incident of the Knights of Labor, whose condemnation by the Roman Congregations Cardinal Gibbons was able to avert, exercised, I am sure, no small influence upon the preparation of the encyclical "The Condition of Labor."

But Cardinal Gibbons belongs to America; let him be judged by his work in America.

The work of Cardinal Gibbons forms an epoch in the history of the Church in America. He has made the Church known to the people of America; he has demonstrated the fitness of the Church for America, the natural alliance existing between the Church and the freedom-giving democratic institutions of America. Thanks to him the scales have fallen from the eyes of non-Catholics; prejudices have vanished. He, the great churchman, is also the great citizen. In him Church and country are united, and the magnetism of the union pervades the whole land, teaching laggard Catholics to love America, teaching well-disposed non-Catholics to trust the Church. Church and country, Church and age, modern aspirations

and ancient truths, republican liberty and spiritual princedom — harmonized, drawn into bonds of warm amity, laboring together for the progress and happiness of humanity! How great the mission assigned to Cardinal Gibbons! How precious the work done by him in fulfillment of it!

I need not tell what qualities of mind and heart have brought the reward of success to the labors of Cardinal Gibbons. The nation knows them. He is large-minded; his vision cannot be narrowed to a one-sided consideration of men or things. He is large-hearted; his sympathies are limited only by the frontiers of humanity. He is ready for every noble work, patriotic, intellectual, social, philanthropic, as well as religious, and, in the prosecution of it, joins hands with laborer and capitalist, with white man and black man, with Catholic, Protestant, and Jew. He is brave; he has the courage to speak and to act according to his convictions; he rejoices when men work with him; he works when men fall away from him. Cardinal Gibbons, the most outspoken of Catholics, the most loyal co-laborer of the Pope of Rome, is the American of Americans. I desire to accentuate his patriotism, for it has been a wondrous factor in his success. We have heard it said that frequent declarations of patriotism are unseeming in loyal citizens, whose silent lives ought to give sufficient evidence of their civic virtue. Then let it be said, too, that frequent declarations of religious faith are not in place among devoted Christians; then, let the *Credo* be seldom repeated.

I have spoken my tribute to the Cardinal Archbishop of Baltimore. A wide field remains ungleaned from which others may gather other tributes.

The Church will conquer.

My whole observation of the times, and in particular of this memorable Columbian year, convinces me that the Church has now her season of grace in America, and I often put to myself the anxious question: Will she profit by it? At times my soul sinks downward to the borderland of pessimism. I hate pessimism; I believe it to be one of the worst crimes against God and humanity; it puts an end to progress. Yet it tempts me, when I read in so many souls indifference and inertia, when I hear of the trifles with which soldiers of truth busy themselves, when I perceive the vast crowd looking backward lest they see the eastern horizon purpled by the rays of the new sun, and moving at slowest pace lest perchance they leave the ruts of the past and overtake the world, whose salvation is their God-given mission. But this evening, far from me is pessimism driven. I feel that religion will surely conquer. My soul throbs with hope. For I remember the God above me; I remember the leaders He has given to the Church—in Rome, Leo XIII.; in America, Cardinal Gibbons. What one man can do is wondrous; what could not ten men—a hundred men do? O Catholic Church, fruitful mother of heroes, give us in unstinted measure men, sons of thy own greatness and of thy own power!

The jubilee of Cardinal Gibbons is not a celebration of song and tinsel; it is a lesson to bishops, priests, and laymen of God's Church in America.

HUMAN PROGRESS.

THE inaugural ceremonies of the World's Congress Auxiliary of the Columbian Exposition took place in the Auditorium in Chicago, on the evening of October 21st, 1892. On the morning of the same day the Columbian Exposition had been opened in Jackson Park.

The purpose of the Congress Auxiliary was to present, in connection with the Columbian Exposition, the moral and intellectual progress of the world, by holding a series of international congresses, to which the leaders in all the chief departments of human progress throughout the world should be invited. The device of the Congress Auxiliary was: "Not matter, but mind." As the Columbian Exposition proper was, in a large measure at least, an exhibition of material progress, it was deemed wise to supplement it by another exhibition, which should afford more direct evidence of moral and intellectual progress.

The government of the United States gave its high sanction to the project, and invited the governments of other countries to send delegates to the congresses, in addition to those who were to take part in them as the representatives of institutions and societies.

The president of the Congress Auxiliary was Mr. Charles C. Bonney, of Chicago. The name was warrant that all would be done to insure success which intellect, honesty of purpose, and devotion to duty could do. Over one hundred congresses were held. They covered all departments of human knowledge and human activity, and scholars and workers of all countries took part in them.

The Archbishop of St. Paul was the speaker at the inaugural ceremonies. He chose as his theme "Human Progress."

HUMAN PROGRESS.

THE greatest of things is mind. Mind, conscious, intelligent, potent to put into action thought and wish, differentiates itself absolutely from matter, rises above it to immeasurable heights, moves and dominates the unthinking world. Mind is the causative power in all orderly results; without it, there is nothing, or only aimless movement and chaos. The universe is the product of the supreme mind — God increate. Within the universe there is created mind — man. Whatever of beauty, goodness, and progress there is in the universe, outside the workings of the First Cause, comes through man. Man is, within the limits of God's creation, a second creator. The manifestations of mind in men are of varied measure. The degree of mind lifts man above man: the higher the mind, the greater and the nobler the man.

Mind, the greatest of things.

In scenes of past ages, over which fancy delights to hover amid Columbian celebrations—Cordova's court, the hillside of La Rabida, Palos harbor, or savage Guanahani—one object more than aught else claims attention. We seek it out; we fix upon it our soul's eager eye. It is the figure of Christopher Columbus. Columbus unseen, the picture, whatever the other figures be, whatever be the coloring, is

incomplete and meaningless; the spirit is absent from it; it is void of inspiration. Columbus is the mind, creating, directing the scenes, bringing to them motive and purpose, producing and coördinating results. All else in the scenes has interest for us only so far as it responds to the thoughts of Columbus, so far as it aids Columbus in executing his plans. Even the queenly and generous Isabella and the patient and far-seeing Juan Perez attract our notice because mind in them understood and followed superior mind in Columbus.

In all places, in all events, the sublime, the worshipful power is mind. Man, mind incorporate, is the greatest being in the universe. The man among men, mind towering above common mind, is the worthiest object of vision and study.

The discovery of America.

Four hundred years ago, to-day, America first unfolded to the eyes of civilized peoples her beauty and her wealth. Fraught, indeed, with solemn meaning for the whole world of men was the occurrence. Few words recorded in story were the signal of so great things to come as were those words: "Land! Land!" which rose in swelling chorus and rent the air above the decks of the weary and wave-beaten caravels of the admiral of the seas. A new land was in sight, fruitful in resources, pregnant in possibilities. A new world was being given to human longings, to human action. A new era was dawning for mankind, a marvelous epoch of human progress. Since the preaching of the Christian religion, nothing had hap-

pened of such import for the human race as the discovery of America. Of this the past four centuries are the proof; the future will set it forth in still clearer light. For good reason do the nations of the world keep sacred this quadri-centennial anniversary.

The Quadri-centennial Commemoration.

To the United States has been allotted the solemn commemoration of the discovery of America. To the first nation of the continent belonged of right the gracious task. She is the giant daughter of the progress of the age; she has the power to command the splendors which should mark the commemoration. Proper, too, was it, that among the cities of the United States Chicago be the chosen one within whose portals the Exposition be enthroned. Chicago, the prairie village of fifty years ago, the stupendous city of to-day, is the world's object lesson of progress. The mistress of our inland seas, the central city of the nation, she exhibits the fullness of growth with which the United States has been blest. Almost half way across the continent, commanding the highways of nations, the mart in which meet for mutual exchange the offerings of Europe and Asia, Chicago typifies the mighty destiny of the United States—to rule among earth's nations, the admired queen, the arbitress of their destinies, marshaling with her sceptre of peace all peoples into one harmonious and indestructible brotherhood.

The Exposition of Chicago will show forth the results of the discovery of Columbus. In this wise, Columbus is honored. What Columbus gave to the

world was not only the America of the year 1492—America, rich indeed, in hidden treasures, but tranquil and undisturbed in nature's sleep. What he gave was the America of the year 1892—America, teeming with life, fruitful of mighty nations, conscious of all her greatness and power. What Columbus gave was, in a large measure, the marvelous progress of modern times.

America, be generous of gratitude and of justice to Columbus. In his honor, unroll before the wondering gaze of the world all the treasures that thou hast. Call upon all nations to unite with thee in praising Columbus—the benefactor of all nations—and to bring to thy Exposition their choicest gifts, the ripest fruits of modern progress. Make thy Exposition the greatest that the world has ever seen.

The Exposition of Chicago is destined to be more than a high tribute to the memory of Columbus. The dawn which on that memorable morning purpled the sails of the Santa Maria, the Nina, and the Pinta, and infused untold joy into the souls of Columbus and his companions, was the harbinger to the world of a magnificent era of progress. What, then, should be in future history the record of our commemoration of the discovery of America? This, and this above all else, that it did inaugurate another era of progress for the world, so much the more marked in intensity and the more prolific in results, that it began its course upon the higher plane to which the thinkers and toilers of four hundred years had lifted humanity. And such will be the record if in the

wisdom and magnitude of our work we respond to the expectations of nations and to the plannings of the all-ruling Providence, who never provides great opportunities without demanding that full profit be made of them.

The Exposition of Chicago must be of surpassing greatness. Be there nothing wanting to it that thought or skill, wealth or courage, can bring hither. The Exposition commemorates a great event. It represents a great age in the life of mankind; it presages a greater age that is to be. To the greatness of the Exposition is pledged the honor of a great nation, and of its greatness a great city stands sponsor.

The material Exposition.

The noble park, which to-day is the pride of Chicago, and upon whose vast and stately buildings the majesty of the nation descended this morning in dedicatory services, tells of the resolve to redeem all promises and to realize all hopes. Hither shall be brought the products of labor and of art, the treasures of earth and of sea, the inventions of this wondrously inventive century, the fruits of learning and genius. The whole globe is astir in preparation to fill to repletion the palaces we have erected. The invitation has been sent forth in all the fullness and warmth of the heart of this Republic, and the nations of the world have hearkened to it as never before they hearkened to a voice calling men to an exposition. The best that America owns, the best that the world can bring, will now be seen in Jackson Park.

What can be added? I give reply. What is there more important than matter, more precious than all the forms with which matter may be invested? There is mind. What is there greater than all the results of the thought and the labor of man? There is man. Bring hither, then, mind: bring hither man. Bring men—not merely the millions, anxious to see and to learn. These we need; but these do not suffice. Bring the men whom the millions desire to contemplate, and from whom they may receive priceless lessons. Bring the thinkers, the workers, the scholars, the apostles of action, the men who have rendered possible or have produced the marvels which will be displayed in Jackson Park, the men whose dreams make for the building up of humanity, and whose arms reach out to the improvement of men along all the lines of progress. Bring the Columbuses of our time. Let us have parliaments of the leaders of men, convoked from all lands under the sun. It is thus that your Exposition will be truly complete, truly representative of the age and truly great. You will have matter and mind; you will have the works and the workers. You will have men, and in men you will have the highest products of progress. There is progress only where men grow. In men you have the potent means to determine the progress of the future. God has made men the agents of progress.

The Exposition of mind.

I am stating the purpose of the Congress Auxiliary of the World's Columbian Exposition.

The organization known as the Congress Auxiliary is an integral part of the Columbian Exposition. Its purpose is to organize, during the months allotted to the Exposition, international conventions of the thinkers and toilers of the world, in the several departments of progress, and in this way to present, through the living voice of the chief actors, clear and comprehensive statements of the questions which in all the fields of activity vex to-day the souls of men. Every nation is asked to send hither its best and most active minds. The whole thinking world will be under our eyes; the whole trend of modern activity will be under our touch. What schools for learners! What workshops of new ideas, where mind inspired by mind will provoke to higher flights and gaze into deeper vistas of truth!

The Congress Auxiliary will bring together men who work for men. It will invest the whole Columbian Exposition with meaning and dignity, and set forth its high purposes in clearer light.

In man alone progress is found.

Expositions are held as indications of progress and as stimulants to its continuous growth. But what is progress? It is not in matter, nor in all the transformations of matter that progress must be looked for; it is in man alone that progress will be found. Progress consists in the growth of man's faculties and powers, in the extension of man's empire over inanimate and irrational creation. Man alone progresses, for man alone is conscious and intelligent.

In all God's workings through nature His aim was man. The earth was created to be man's dwelling place. It was endowed with vernal fecundity to provide him with nutriment, and to give delectation to his senses. The atmosphere was tempered to his physical life. The firmament was spread to light his footsteps and to allure his soul into supernal contemplation. All these things were made for man, and were given to man. "Fill the earth and subdue it," said the Lord, "and rule over the fishes of the sea and the fowls of the air, and all living creatures that move upon the earth."[1]

"The meaning of creation," it has been well said, "is not understood until dust stands erect in a living man."[2] God's purposes must not be thwarted: man must remain the monarch of nature. The aim of nature and of all its forces must be the service of man, the betterment and elevation of man. Matter is only the means. To rate man inferior to matter is to reverse the divine ordering of creation.

Let there, then, be the discovery of nature's forces and the harnessing of them to the chariots of science and industry. Let there be searchings into the abysmal secrets of earth, and sea, and sky. Let there be trade and commerce. But, throughout, let the aim ever be to build up man into a higher manhood, into a more intelligent, a better, and a happier being. Let it always be man that is progressing.

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[1] Genesis i: 28.

[2] Rev. J. W. Lee: "The Making of a Man." (Introduction.)

Man not growing, nothing has been accomplished; man deteriorating, evil has been done. Perish trade and commerce if by them man is lessened in his sense of righteousness, and the fibre of his heart is hardened. Perish the most ingenious machinery if its conscienceless wheels, in their merciless rotations, destroy the happiness of human souls. Labor is a curse if man is thereby made the slave of matter. The wealth of nations is a blasphemy thrown into the face of the Creator if the struggle for wealth begets selfishness and narrow-mindedness in the few, and condemns the many to sin and misery. Man is the precious thing; man must be saved and lifted upward; the progress of man is the sole progress. Nor by man can we be allowed to understand a few men here and there amid the masses of their fellows. The few may have climbed to mountain heights; if the many dwell in the darkened valleys of suffering and of soul-wreckage, man has not progressed. God's love is not limited to the few; it extends over all the children of men. For the benefit of all He has swung the earth into space and lighted above it the fiery orbs. Progress throughout the whole human family is the progress which God wills, and which alone we should call progress.

There is danger that expositions, where all is wood and marble, gold and silver, machinery and cereals, where matter alone feasts the eye and speaks to the soul, may silently inculcate false lessons of progress. In such expositions men see matter only and admire matter only. There is, then, danger that

matter may be deemed the one important thing, and that all may seem well with the world if material progress is assured. The tendency of the age is already more materialistic than its well-wishers desire. Nothing should be done to accentuate it. To-day, more than ever before, the poet's warning should be heeded:

> "Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey,
> Where wealth accumulates, and men decay."

The departments of the Congress Auxiliary.

The mission of the Congress Auxiliary is to place man in the foreground as the chief factor of progress and the first fruit of civilization, and to throw into bold relief his grandeur and his destiny. The plans of the Congress Auxiliary are most comprehensive. They extend along all the lines of the growth of man.

In the departments of agriculture, of engineering, of commerce and finance, man's relations to matter receive due consideration. Man lives upon the earth, derives his sustenance from it. In subjecting the earth to his service, he enlarges by exercise the powers of his soul. Far be it from us to ignore the triumphs of mind over matter: they are at once the conditions and the evidences of progress in man.

The marvels of physical and mechanical sciences in which the age revels; the surpassing inventions, which enable us to dominate more completely over nature, and to yoke its mightiest forces to the chariots of industry; the vast discoveries which open up

to our gaze the whole surface of the globe, and reveal to us the deep recesses of earth and the remote regions of ethereal space—all these we admire and praise. God gave to us the material universe, to study it and to use it. Material progress, no less than moral and spiritual progress, is within the scope of God's supreme law. The whole man must grow, and grow in every direction. I am as impatient of the narrowness which limits him in one direction as of that which limits him in another. I put no restriction upon the development of material interests. I would only inculcate the lesson that the earth is the footstool of man, and that material progress even in its grandest flights is a failure unless, throughout, man retains his higher nature, and is made a greater and better being.

The interests of mind are provided for in the departments of education, of science and philosophy, of literature, of the public press. Man is primarily mind. Without knowledge, the darkening clouds of barbarism never sunder over the face of a people. Without it, there is no progress in material things, and none in other realms of human activity. And as progress must embrace the whole human family, so must knowledge, however varied in degree, be universal in its diffusion.

The moral life of man wells up in the heart, beneath the vivifying dews of divine grace. Into this inner sanctuary, congresses have little access. Yet it is well that the importance of the moral life of the individual and of society be emphasized; for right-

eousness and well-doing are the vital condition of healthfulness in body and in soul. Congresses give aid by directing social currents of which the influences make strongly for good or evil. Hence we have the department of moral and social reform, with its congresses on charity, on philanthropy, on prevention, on reform, and the department of temperance, which invites to its councils the devoted men and women who are giving battle to a giant evil of the times.

The department of government deals with the complex problems which the proper regulation of man's social interests suggests. We shall have congresses on municipal and national administration, on international law, on peace arbitration, on jurisprudence, and practical government. Government is necessary that men abide together in peace, and derive, from their relations with one another, help in their labor of self-development. Government is the means, not the end; the means to the elevation of the many, not of the few.

In the struggles of men to subsist and to rise, success is measured out in unequal degree. This is a natural necessity. None, however, ought to live exclusively for themselves; all are members of the human family, and the Divine Master intended for all a sufficiency of the things of earth, and of the means moral and physical to attain to the stature of physical and moral manhood. The department of labor will discuss the intricate and pressing questions arising from the relations of labor to capital, of employee to

employer—maintaining the rights of all, prescribing the duties of all, and guarding over all the reign of social order. The rational, dispassionate study of the condition of labor is to-day a sacred duty. Pope and Kaiser have alike counseled it; religion and statesmanship are alike concerned in it.

There are the departments of art, of music, of architecture. The instinct of the beautiful is deeply imbedded in man: it must be satisfied. The beautiful is the reflection of those supernal regions, which, though unperceived by sense, are the native home of the soul. Beneath its radiance the soul of man expands, and is preserved from the hardening impress which comes from the dreary drudgery of the struggle with matter.

The department of woman's progress provides for a general congress of representative women of all countries. At no previous World's Congress was there the marked recognition of woman that the Columbian Auxiliary accords her. We rejoice in this recognition. It is an evidence and a promise of progress for woman herself and for the world at large. Woman has been too dependent upon the stronger sex; in our battling for better things in the life of humanity, we can no longer afford to dispense with the deep charity and the exhaustless energy of woman's soul. Without the practical patronage of Isabella, Columbus could not have succeeded. Be Isabella honored in the Columbian Exhibition by America's generous recognition of woman's part in the great work of human progress.

The Department of Religion.

There is, lastly, the department of religion, crowning the labors of all other departments and perfuming them with the fragrance of heaven. Sublime the thought—to send forth from the great Exposition the proclamation that God reigns, that man is God's servant, that progress begins and ends with Him Who is the Alpha and Omega of all things. Religion is at home in parliaments of men who work for progress. There is no progress worthy of the name where no provision is made for the growth of man's spiritual nature. Nor can laborers in the field of progress afford to overlook the powerful aid which religion gives to the work of progress in the moral and social spheres. Without God's love to inspire and God's justice to reward, hearts are warped, souls are chilled, enthusiasm becomes transient sentiment. The fatal enemy of the spirit of sacrifice and of self-control, from which springs all moral and social progress, is the cold positivism which unbelief seeks to substitute for the religion of a living God. Positivism is despair and practical pessimism. England's lamented laureate wrote lines of which all feel the truth:

"Why should we bear with an hour of torture, a moment of pain,
If every man die forever, if all his griefs are in vain,
And the homeless planet at length will be wheel'd through the silence of space,
Motherless evermore of an ever-vanishing race." [1]

[1] Tennyson: "Despair."

Religion is the perennial fount of hope, and it is hope that sustains man amid all his strugglings, and impels him to deeds of virtue and of valor. Positivism can never be the creed of a progressive people. It is not the creed of the Congress Auxiliary of the Columbian Exposition.

Exception has been taken to a congress of religion on the ground that on so many points there can be no harmony of thought, and that truth must suffer by the juxtaposition of error. There is no ground for apprehension. The primordial truths regarding the Supreme God will be confessed by all who take part in the Congress; and is it not much that those truths be to-day proclaimed in solemn conclave by representatives of the nations of the earth during the greatest exposition the world has ever known? As to those principles of religion upon which the members of the Congress may not be of one mind, they who hold the truth need not fear. Truth is not timid, and upon an occasion so great and important should not truth court publicity, in order to be better known and better loved? No discussion, no controversy will be allowed during the sessions of the Congress; the one purpose of the Congress will be to set forth calmly and dispassionately the confessions of faith and the labors of religion at the present time.[1]

[1] In a letter to the Apostolic Delegate at Washington, under date of September 18th, 1895, Leo. XIII., writing of assemblies in the United States, where Catholics and non-Catholics meet "to discuss religion and morals," says: "Although those general assemblies have been, through a prudent silence, tolerated to this day, it would seem, nevertheless, more advisable

Thus, through all its varied departments, the Congress Auxiliary works towards its aim, the elevation of man. Its convention halls are workshops in which earnest men seek to purify and to fashion humanity according to high ideals. In convoking men to its gatherings, it convokes them to the noblest of tasks—that of working for fellow-man. God works for man. The divine purpose in the creation and the preservation of the universe is man. We become God-like in act when we work for man. God, indeed, must ever be the supreme end of our willing and our doing. Direct homage is due to the majesty of God, and this homage God demands from us. But He demands also that for His sake we serve our fellow-men, and the first commandment of the law makes religion to consist in the service of God and in the

Working for man is a divine task.

that Catholics hold their own meetings apart; but in order that the usefulness thereof be not confined to Catholics, such meetings may be conducted under conditions that will open the audience to all people, to those who are separated from the Catholic faith as well as to Catholics." The Congress of Religion, held in Chicago during the Columbian Exposition, was a most important and in every way an extraordinary assembly. Many Catholics, ecclesiastics and laymen, deemed it their duty to see that the Church was not without a voice in it, and they spoke from the platform of the Congress in a manner that maintained intact the dignity and the dogmatic principles of the Church. But, the Columbian Exposition over, congresses of religion seemed likely to become frequent among Americans in circumstances widely different from those of the Columbian Congress. Congresses were proposed in other countries, where customs and opinions impose upon Catholics extreme caution. Hence the Sovereign Pontiff was moved to lay down rules under which Catholics may take part in congresses without seeming to impair even remotely the Catholic principle of doctrinal exclusiveness, and without incurring the peril of alarming the most timorous member of the Church.

service of man. Christianity, the historic manifestation of the Eternal Mind, makes work for humanity a fundamental principle of religion. "Amen, amen, I say to you: as long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it to me." Nor are the lines of work, which Christ prescribes in favor of man, those merely that relate to the life of the soul; they are also those that relate to the life of the body—the feeding of the hungry, the clothing of the naked, the solacing of the captive, the healing of the crushed and suffering heart.

Wherever work is done for man, wherever humanity is benefited and lifted upward, God's sweet religion is there. There is religion within cathedral walls, where God is spoken to and loved. There is religion also in the wheat fields, where soil and air combine to produce food for man; there is religion in the factory, where matter is turned into new forms for man's welfare; there is religion in the sanctuary of poet and philosopher dreaming of new upliftings for the race; there is religion where the weary one is comforted, the outcast saved, and the hand of the hungering filled with bread. Where work is done for man, religion is there: over all the palaces of your great Exposition religion expands her heavenly wings.

And working for man is not the hopeless task that pessimists proclaim it to be. Progress is the law of God's creation. The Creator has bestowed upon us faculties capable of expansion, and it is His will that we summon into action their latent forces. He has subjected to us the earth, and it is His will that we

take possession of it, and assert our dominion over its every part. Powers that lie dormant find no favor in the eyes of God. Progress is the continuity of creation; to arrest it, through malice or indolence, is a crime against Creator and creature. Christ's gospel is a gospel of progress. It announces that all things should be put to profit and made to increase: the talent that is wrapped in a napkin but draws down upon its possessor the Master's ire.

History is witness that under Christ's touch humanity was impelled into moral and spiritual progress with such might that centuries do not still the sublime vibration. The pessimist who stands idly by, uttering words of discouragement, does not read nature's lesson in the brightness of the morning sun, and in the richness of the autumnal fruitage; nor does he read in his Bible the divine lesson of mercy and grace. There will always be sin and suffering, misery and death. But evil may be lessened, and good may be increased, and this is progress. I shall never believe that good must necessarily yield to evil, that the devil is stronger than God, and I shall never cease to put my hope in the progress of humanity.

The history of humanity, a history of progress.

The history of mankind is a history of progress. A narrow survey of the world does not always bring out this important truth. In the tide of progress there are backward currents and tortuous windings. We must perceive the general movement, and of this the trend ceases not to be ever forward.

ward, then; but still remember how the course of time will swerve,
and turn upon itself in many a backward streaming curve."

ı a rhythm of rise and fall, of ebb and flow, of
:h and decay, the progress of humanity con-
ɜ, and the hopes of the workers in the cause of
nity obtain their reward.

"Through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widen'd with the process of the suns."

The work of our congresses will give a new and powerful impetus to the march of progress: their deliberations will provide charts for the guidance of future generations. The congresses will not be mere meetings of pleasure or friendship: they will be conventions of earnest men and women, who will work with mind and heart for progress, and will receive from one another new light and new inspiration, and who, when their deliberations are over, will be more firmly resolved than before to labor for fellow-man.

A propitious time to work for progress.

The time is auspicious. We live in one of those momentous cycles of history when humanity is casting around for new pathways and girding itself for unusual manifestations of its energies. How much has been done since the days of Columbus! How much more will be done in the new period, whose approach already brightens the landscape!

Ours is an age of unrest, of searchings and dreamings. What has been done has but whetted

the appetite for greater achievements. We are to-day less satisfied with our inventions and our discoveries than we were when the steamship and the railroad car were mere experiments. Science is to-day more restless than when it made its first step beyond the borderland of guessings. Signal victories in the extension of popular rights and of individual liberty, in the elevation of the masses, in the enlargement of the sphere of woman's influence — all these make known how much more may be obtained, and awaken new and untried ambitions.

The age is tireless in its inquisitiveness. It puts all things to the test; it gazes into the heights and into the depths to arrive at ultimate truth, content with nothing else. No possibilities escape the vision of man, no difficulties affright his heart. He is emboldened by the past as he is enriched with its accumulated treasures of knowledge and experience. Never was humanity so daring as it is to-day, never so ready to leave far behind the pillars of Hercules and to steer its ships for undiscovered seas.

The manifestations of the age can be reduced to no single force or trait. All the energies of all past ages combine in it, with new energies born of itself. All forces, physical and scientific, social and moral, are challenged to show their best results.

The age is ready for great achievements. If we are loyal workers of progress, our lot is cast amid hopeful surroundings.

The future! What will it be? Material progress will continue onward with ever-increasing velocity. The wildest dreams hardly foreshadow the realities; nothing need be unexpected. The poet's strange vision may have its realization:

Forecast of the future.

"For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be,
Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic sails,
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales."

More unlikely than all this seemed to our fathers one century ago the prophecy of travel by steam and electricity.

The moral and social forces which now agitate the world will work into an increase of goodness and happiness among men. I do not believe that the future will bring a millenium. There will be no rose bush without thorns, no day without the nearness of evening shades, no life without the menace of death. There will be inequalities among men, and passion will still disturb the peace of souls. But I do believe that there will be more mercy in the world, more justice, more righteousness. There will be more respect for manhood, more liberty for the individual. The brotherhood of man will be more widely recognized, and its lessons more faithfully practiced. Servitude and oppression will be banished from their last refuge, the dark thickets of African forests. The blessings of civilization will reach all races of the human family. Civil and political liberty will speed across all seas and oceans.

Nations will see in one another assemblies of brothers; brute force will more and more yield before reason; mind will more and more assert itself over matter and over passion; and peaceful arbitration will, in a large measure, take the place of the murderous sword. All this will not come to pass without delays and backward movements, without reactions and repressions; but the final victory will be with truth and justice.

Need we fear for religion? It is asking: Need we fear for eternal truth, for the reign of the Almighty. Unbelief is a passing wave. The material and scientific progress of the age may have begotten an overestimate of nature, and drawn a film over the eyes of many. But the realities of the supernatural and our profound need of them endure, and our reason will not lose sight of them. The protest which is made against unbelief will bring the evidences of religion into clearer light, and the widening thoughts of men along other lines of progress will show more clearly that religion is the need of all progress, as God is the need of all being.

In the course of history Providence selects now one nation, now another, to be the guide and the exemplar of humanity's progress. When the Christian era opened, mighty Rome led the vanguard. When America was to be born into the family of nations, Iberia rose up the mistress of the world. A great era, the like of which has not been seen, is now dawning upon the horizon. Which will now be God's chosen nation to guide the destinies of mankind?

The chosen nation of the future! She is before my soul's vision. Giant in stature, comely in feature, buoyant in the freshness of morning youth, matronly in prudent stepping, the ethereal breezes of liberty caressing with loving touch her tresses, she is — no one seeing her can doubt it — the queen, the mistress, the teacher of coming ages. To her keeping, the Creator has entrusted a mighty continent, whose shores two oceans lave, rich in all nature's gifts, imbosoming precious and useful minerals, fertile in soil, salubrious in air, beauteous in vesture, the fair region of His predilection, which He had held in reserve for long centuries, awaiting the propitious moment in humanity's evolution to bestow it on men, when men were worthy to possess it. Her sons have inherited from their ancestry of many climes the ripest fruitage of the thought, the labor, and the experience of mankind, and have received from their own great continent inspirations and impulses hitherto unknown to the world of men. Of this nation it is the mission to give forth a new humanity. She embodies in her life and her institutions the hopes, the ambitions, the dreamings of humanity's priests and prophets. To her daring in the race of progress, to her devotion at the shrine of liberty, there is no limit. Peace and prosperity spread over her their sheltering wings.

The nation of the future! Need I name it? Your hearts quiver loving it.

> "My country, 'tis of thee
> Sweet land of liberty,
> Of thee I sing."

The nation of the future! It is the United States of America! Behold the crowning gift to humanity from Columbus, whose caravels ploughed ocean's uncertain billows in search of it, and from the all-ruling Providence whose wisdom and mercy inspired and guided the immortal Genoese mariner.

PATRIOTISM.

THE discourse on Patriotism was delivered in New York, before the New York Commandery of the Loyal Legion, April 4, 1894. General Wager Swayne was Commander, and by him the speaker was presented to the audience.

The Archbishop of St. Paul is a Companion of the Minnesota Commandery of the Loyal Legion. He served during the Civil War as Chaplain to the Fifth Regiment of Minnesota Infantry.

Though patriotism is often mentioned, and often discussed, it is, perhaps, true, that its moral and religious aspects are generally overlooked, to the great detriment of patriotism itself and of the interests which it subserves. Special stress, therefore, is laid, in the present discourse, upon the moral and religious aspects of patriotism.

PATRIOTISM.

To speak of patriotism is my evening's task. An easy and gracious task it ought to be. Patriotism is personified in my audience. The honor is mine to address the country's heroes, the country's martyrs. At country's call you quickly buckled on your armor, and rushed where battle raged, to offer for your country's life the life-blood of your hearts. Many of you carry on breast and face the sacred stigmata of patriotism. Your tried hands are doubly pledged in purest unselfishness and bravest resolve to uphold in the reign of peace the loved flag which in days of war they bore over gory fields above stain or reproach. I could not, if I would, close the portals of my soul to the rich and sweet inspirations which come to me from your souls.

I shall define patriotism as you understand it and as you feel it. Patriotism is love of country and loyalty to its life and weal; love tender and strong, tender as the affection of son for mother, strong as the pillars of death; loyalty generous and disinterested, shrinking from no sacrifice, seeking no reward save country's triumph.

Patriotism! There is magic in the word. It is bliss to repeat it. Through the ages humanity has burnt the incense of admiration and reverence at the

shrines of patriotism. The most beautiful pages of history are those which count its deeds. Fireside tales, the outpourings of the memories of peoples, borrow from it their warmest glow. Poets are sweetest when they echo its whisperings; orators most potent when they attune their speech to its inspirations.

Pagan nations were wrong in making gods of their noblest patriots. But their error was the excess of the great truth: that heaven unites with earth in approving and blessing patriotism, that patriotism is one of earth's most exalted virtues, worthy to have come down from the atmosphere of the skies.

The patriotism of the exiled Hebrew exhaled itself in a canticle of religion which Jehovah inspired, and which has been transmitted as the inheritance of God's people to the Christian Church:

"Upon the rivers of Babylon, there we sat and wept, when we remembered Sion. . . . If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand be forgotten. Let my tongue cleave to my jaws, if I do not remember thee, if I do not make Jerusalem the beginning of my joy."[1]

The human race pays homage to patriotism, because of its supreme value. The value of patriotism to a people is above gold and precious stones, above commerce and industry, above citadels and warships. Patriotism is the vital spark of the nation's honor, the living fount of the nation's prosperity, the strong shield of the nation's safety.

[1] Psalm cxxxvi.

The human race pays homage to patriotism because of its supreme loveliness. Patriotism goes out to what is, among earth's possessions, the most precious, the first and best and dearest—country; and its effusion is the fragrant flowering of the purest and noblest sentiments of the heart.

Beauty and value of patriotism.

Patriotism is innate in man—the absence of it betokens a perversion of human nature; but it attains its full force and beauty only where minds are elevated and hearts are generous.

Next to God is country, and next to religion is patriotism. No praise goes beyond the deserts of patriotism. It is sublime in its heroic oblation upon a field of battle: "Oh, glorious is he who for his country falls!" exclaims the Trojan warrior, Hector.[1] It is sublime in the oft-repeated toil of dutiful citizenship. "Of all human doings," writes Cicero, "none is more honorable, none more estimable, than to deserve well of the commonwealth."[2]

Countries are of divine appointment. The Most High "divided the nations, separated the sons of Adam, and appointed the bounds of peoples."[3] The physical and moral needs of God's creatures are revelations of His will and laws. Man is born a social being. The family is a condition of his existence

The providence of God over countries.

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[1] Iliad xv: 496.

[2] Epistles x: 5.

[3] "When the Most High divided the nations, when He

and of his growth to maturity. Nor does the family suffice to itself. A larger social organism is needed, into which families are gathered in order to obtain from one another security for life and property, and to aid in the development of the powers and faculties with which nature has endowed the children of men. This larger organism is the country. Countries have their providential limits — the waters of a sea, a mountain range, the lines of similarity of requirements or modes of life. The limits are widened according to the measures of the destinies which the great Ruler allots to peoples and the importance of their part in the mighty work of the cycles of years, the ever-advancing tide of humanity's evolution. The Lord is the God of nations because He is the God of men. Without His bidding no nation springs into life or vanishes back into nothingness. I believe in the providence of God over countries even as I believe in His wisdom and His love, and my allegiance to my country rises before my soul encircled with the halo of my loyalty to my God.

A century ago a transatlantic poet and philosopher, reading the signs of the times, wrote:

> "Westward the star of empire takes its way;
> The four first acts already past,
> A fifth shall close the drama with the day;
> Time's noblest offspring is the last."

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separated the sons of Adam, He appointed the bounds of peoples according to the number of the children of Israel." Deut. xxxii: 8.

Berkeley's prophetic eye had descried America. What shall I say in a brief discourse of my country's value and beauty, of her claims to my love and fealty? I will pass by in silence her fields and forests, her rivers and seas, her boundless riches of soil and of mountain, her pure and health-giving air, her transcendent wealth of nature's fairest and most precious gifts. I will not speak of the noble qualities and robust deeds of her sons, prosperous in peace, valorous in war, gifted in mind and heart, skilled in commerce and industry. Be this my theme in praise of America: She is, as none other, the land of human dignity and of human liberty!

America's singular title to our admiration and love.

America, rising into the family of nations in these latter times, is the highest billow in humanity's evolution, the crowning effort of ages in the aggrandizement of man. Unless we view her in this altitude we do not comprehend her; we belittle her towering stature, and hide from ourselves the singular design of Providence in creating her.

When the fathers of the Republic declared: "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," a principle was enunciated which, in its truth, was as old as the race, but in practical realization was almost unknown.

Slowly and laboriously, amid suffering and revolution, humanity had been reaching out towards a reign of the rights of man. Paganism utterly denied

such rights. It allowed nothing to man as man; man was what wealth, or place, or power made him. Even the wise Aristotle taught that nature intended some men to be slaves and chattels.[1] The sweet religion of Christ proclaimed aloud the doctrine of the common fatherhood of God and the universal brotherhood of man. Eighteen hundred years, however, went by, and the civilized world had not yet put its civil and political institutions into accord with its spiritual faith. During all that time the Christian Church was leavening human society, and patiently awaiting the promised fermentation. This came at last, and it came in America. It came in a first manifestation through the Declaration of Independence; it came in a second and final manifestation through President Lincoln's proclamation of emancipation.

The Republic of America is the recognition of the manhood of man.

In America all men are civilly and politically equal; all have the same rights; all wield the same arm of defense and of conquest—the suffrage; and the sole condition of rights and of power is simple manhood.

Liberty is exemption from all restraint, save that of the laws of justice and order, exemption from submission to other men, except so far as they represent and enforce those laws. The divine gift of liberty is

[1] Ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν εἰσὶ φύσει τινὲς οἱ μὲν ἐλεύθεροι οἱ δὲ δοῦλοι φανερόν οἷς καὶ συμφέρει τὸ δουλεύειν καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστιν.

"It is, therefore, evident that some men are free by nature, and some are by nature slaves: that these latter should be held in subjection is both just and expedient." Aristotle, "Politics," Lib I., cap. ii.

God's recognition of man's greatness and man's dignity. In liberty lie the sweetness of life and the power of growth. The loss of liberty is the loss of light and sunshine, the loss of life's best portion. Under the spell of heavenly memories, humanity never had ceased to dream of liberty, and to aspire to its possession. Now and then, here and there, liberty had for a moment caressed humanity's brow. But not until the Republic of the West was born, not until the star-spangled banner rose towards the skies, was liberty caught up in humanity's embrace and embodied in a great and abiding nation.

America is the embodiment of liberty.

In America the government takes from the liberty of the citizen only so much as is necessary for the weal of the nation. In America there are no masters who govern in their own right, for their own interest, or at their own will. We have over us no Bourbon saying: "*L'état c'est moi;*" no Hohenzollern proclaiming that in his acts as sovereign he is responsible only to his conscience and to God. Ours is the government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Our government is our own organized will.

In America, rights begin with, and go upward from the people. In other countries, even in those which are apparently the most free, rights begin with, and come downward from the state; the rights of citizens, the rights of the people, are concessions which have been wrested from the governing powers.[1]

[1] Vide — "Droits et Libertés aux États-Unis," by Adolphe

...e state is tyra...
it invades at wi...
curtails at will individual liberty.
is liberty's native home — Ameri...

The God-given mission of the...
ica is not confined to its own ...
to all the peoples of the earth, to w...
of human rights and of human l...
whom its flag flutters hopes of fut...

Is there not for Americans m...
Country? Is there not for Ameri...
for country, and, if need be, to di...
there not joy in the recollection ...
the saviours of your country? Is...
the name of America's "Loyal L...
country, patriotism is a duty: in A...
thrice sacred.

The prisoner Paul rose at on...
tinction, and commanded the r...
soldiers and Pales...

was, "*Civis Romanus*—a Roman citizen." More significant to-day, throughout the world, is the title: "*Civis Americanus*—an American citizen."

The moral and religious duty of patriotism.

The duty of patriotism is a duty of justice and of gratitude. The country fosters our dearest interests; it protects our hearths and altars. Without it there is no safety for life and property, no opportunity for development and progress. We are wise of our country's wisdom, rich of its opulence, strong of its fortitude, resplendent of its glory.

Duty to country is a duty of conscience, a duty to God. Country exists by divine right. It receives from God the authority needful for its life and work; its right to command is divine: "There is no power but from God, and those that are, are ordained of God. Therefore, he that resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God." The religion of patriotism is not sufficiently understood, and yet it is this religion that gives to country its majesty, and to patriotism its sacredness and force.

What the part is to the whole, that the citizen is to the country; and this relation is the due measure of patriotism. The country and its interests are above the citizen and his interests. A king of France, St. Louis, set to his device this motto: "*Dieu, la France, et Marguerite.*" The motto told the order of allegiances: God first, next to God country, next to country family, one's self the last—the chevalier, even unto death, of family, country, and God.

Allegiance to country is limited only by allegiance to God. God and His eternal laws of justice and righteousness are supreme, and hold first claims upon conscience. A country which exacts the violation of those laws subverts its own moral authority, and becomes an aggregation of human wills which physical force alone can sustain. "To God, that which is God's; to Cæsar, that which is Cæsar's." In olden paganism the state arrogated to itself supremacy in ethics as in temporals, and ruled over consciences. Under this slavery of the soul, the last ray of freedom vanished; the last vestige of human dignity was effaced. Christ made men free; He brought back the state to its proper orbit, thus restoring manhood to man, and to country the effulgence of the skies.

It is good for a people that supreme emergencies arise to test its patriotism to the highest pitch. If patriotism remains dormant for a long period it loses its strength, whereas the reflection and self-consciousness which resolute action awakens result in a fuller appreciation of the value of the country and the institutions which it is the duty of patriotism to defend.

A supreme emergency did arise for the people of America.

There had been, indeed, patriotism intense and sublime in the Revolutionary War, when —

> "In their ragged regimentals
> Stood the old Continentals
> Yielding not."

But had this patriotism survived? Momentous changes had come over the country; the population had become much more heterogeneous; commerce and industry, usually unpropitious to exalted sentiment of soul, engrossed the public mind; the spirit of democracy, as it worked towards individualism of character, might have unfitted the citizen for sacrifice in behalf of the general weal. We remember the comments of the public press of Europe when the Civil War broke out. Patriotism, it was asserted, was unknown to Americans, and a government compelled to rely entirely upon volunteer service would be unable to muster a large army of valiant and patient defenders. The Proclamation of President Lincoln calling for 75,000 soldiers was regarded as the venturesome act of despair, and a speedy dissolution of the Union was prophesied. At home there were not a few who had as little faith as the Europeans in the permanency of the Republic.

On a memorable morning of April, in the year 1861, a cannon ball swept over the waters of Charleston harbor, aimed at the star-spangled banner that floated above the walls of Fort Sumter. War was declared against the Union.

How much there was at stake in the Civil War.

How much there was at stake! Even now we cannot recall without trepidation the awful significance of the contest. At stake was the union of the States, the strength and the life of the country. What makes each State to be strong and hopeful, palpitating with giant life and ready for giant progress? This

alone: that the States form one nation and at home and abroad unfurl one flag. A republic of the North, a republic of the South, a republic of the West—the nations would despise them. The Republic of the United States—the nations fear and honor it.

At stake was the recognition of human rights in our own country. Despite the Declaration of Independence, there were slaves in America; in practice, America had failed to be the ideal country of manhood and of human dignity. Had the cause of Rebellion triumphed, the institution of slavery would have been formally ratified, and the Declaration of Independence forever belied.

At stake was liberty for the world, the stability of a government of the people, for the people, and by the people. If the Union had been disrupted, and its shattered fragments laid prostrate over the land, like the broken and desolate columns of once famous temples in Grecian and Roman regions, Liberty, shrieking over the ruins, should have hastened back to caverns of gloom, her friends abandoning hope, her enemies exulting and confident. The dissolution of the Union meant a century of retrogression for humanity.

Ceaseless and soul-rending was the anxiety of freedom's sons during the dreary years of America's Civil War. At each rising of the morning's sun the heavens were questioned:

"O say, can you see by the dawn's early light
What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming?
O say, does that star-spangled banner yet wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?"

God of nations! we this evening thank Thee: all was well. American patriotism was on guard; and the morning came when, at Appomattox, one flag was unfurled over the contending armies:

"'Tis the star-spangled banner: O long may it wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave!"

Two things in the Civil War amazed the world — one, the number and courage of our volunteer soldiers; the other, the ability of our commanders. In other countries, huge standing armies and years of careful training are the prerequisites of successful warfare. In America the chief executive of the Republic waves his wand, and armies spring up as by magic. One motive animates them, the saving of the country. They are daring in deed; they are skillfully led. The records of their battles are studied in wonderment by famed veterans of Europe. I met recently in Paris a well-known Russian general: "War," he said, "is a science of high degree; at the commencement of the contest the government of the United States had at its disposal only a handful of trained officers; the war, moreover, offered in its varied operations unusual difficulties; and yet the generalship throughout the vast army was admirable in skill of planning and execution."

Great were the sacrifices which the war in defense of the country demanded! But great also were the results! To-day no one doubts that America is a land of patriots, and that a free people may be relied upon to defend their country. America is respected by the nations of the world: they remember

what it was capable of when divided; they understand what it is capable of when united. The victory of the Union brought peace and prosperity alike to conquerors and to conquered: the conquered rejoice no less than the conquerors that the old flag has not lost one star from its azure ground. The seal of finality has been set upon the Union, the God of battles ending our strife, and decreeing that we are a nation, one and indestructible. Slavery has been blotted out, and the escutcheon of America is free of blemish. Liberty is without peril in her chosen home, and from America's shores she sends inspiring messages across seas and oceans. The quickened spirit of republicanism and democracy, to be seen to-day in Europe and throughout the southern continent of America, goes out from the triumphant Republic of the United States.

The results of the Civil War.

The sacrifices! Each one of you, companions, may say in truth: "Of those a fair share was mine —*Quorum pars magna fui!*" The results! They are yours, since yours were the sacrifices that purchased them. This great nation is yours in an especial manner: by the libation of your blood it was saved. By you, at the peril of your life, the star-spangled banner was guarded in its hour of trial. Let others love this banner and seek its smiles; they cannot have for it your passion. Were speech allowed it, accents of sweetness would flow from it to you which others should not hear.

The days of peace have come upon America: the days when patriotism was a duty are not over.

What was saved in days of war must be guarded in days of peace. A government of the people, by the people, and for the people, as proposed by the founders of the Republic, was, in the light of history, a stupendous experiment. So far the experiment has succeeded. Can we say, however, that the Republic is beyond all peril? This the world is not willing to grant: we are even told that the Republic is but entering upon its crucial crisis. And, indeed, new conditions confront us. With a population bordering on the hundredth million, and prepared quickly to overleap this figure, with unwieldy urban conglomerations, with the unbridled luxury of living consequent on vast material prosperity, it were reckless folly to assert that no peril menaces the stability of our government.

The duty of patriotism in time of peace.

Meanwhile the destinies of many peoples are in the balance. Nations move towards liberty, according as liberty is seen to reign undisturbed in America; they recede towards absolutism and hereditary regime, according as dangers arise that threaten peace and order in the Republic.

Throughout the world, civil, political, and social affairs in America are watched with intense anxiety, because of their bearing upon the question of the practicability of popular government. Often, as I discussed in foreign countries modern democracy, the thought forced itself upon me that could Americans but understand how much depends upon the fortunes of republican and democratic institutions in

their country, they would kindle in their souls a new fire of patriotism, a new zeal for the welfare of the Republic.

Faith in the Republic of America.

For myself, I have unwavering faith in the Republic of America. I have faith in the providence of God and in the progress of humanity. I will not believe that liberty is not a permanent gift; and it were not, should America fail. I have faith in the powerful and loyal heart of America, which clings fast to liberty, and which, sooner or later, rights all wrongs and crushes out all evils. I have no fear. Clouds cross the heavens: a burst of sunlight soon dispels them. Different interests in society are out of joint, and the social organism is feverish: it is only the effort towards new adjustments; in a little while there will be peace and order. Menacing social and political evils are near, and seem to be gaining ground: one day the national heart is roused, and the evils, however formidable they be, go down before the tread of an indignant people.

The safety of the Republic lies in the vigilant and active patriotism of the American people.

Danger to the Republic.

There is danger in the ignorance of voters. As a rule, the man who does not read and write cannot vote intelligently. Americans understand the necessity of popular instruction, and spare no expense in promoting it. They cannot be too zealous in this matter. They ought to have laws in every State to punish, as guilty of crime against the country, parents who neglect to send their children to school.

There is danger — and a most serious one — in corrupt morals. A people without good morals is incapable of self-government. Underlying the proper exercise of the suffrage are unselfishness and the spirit of sacrifice. A corrupt man is selfish: an appeal to duty finds no response in his conscience; he is devoid of the high-mindedness and generosity that are the elements of patriotism; he is ready to sell his country for pelf or pleasure. With reason does patriotism take alarm at the spread of intemperance, lasciviousness, dishonesty, and perjury; with reason does it array against those dire evils all the country's forces, courts, legislatures, and, above all else, public opinion. Materialism and the denial of a living God annihilate conscience, break down the barriers to sensuality, sow broadcast the seeds of moral death, and are fatal to liberty and social order. A people without belief in God and in a future life will not long remain free. For its own protection, the age of democracy must be an age of religion.

Empires and monarchies place their reliance upon sword and cannon; republics put their trust in the citizen's respect for law. If law be not sacred, a free government will not endure. Laws may be repealed by constitutional means; but while they remain inscribed on the statute book they should be observed. The lowering of the dignity of law is treason. Anarchical explosions, mob riots, lynchings, shake the pillars of the commonwealth; the determined defiance of municipal and state authority by the liquor traffic, the stealthy

avoidance of payment of taxes and of custom duties, blunt consciences and beget habits fatal to obedience. Only a law-abiding people is worthy of liberty and capable of guarding its treasures.

What shall I say of the purity of the ballot, of the integrity of the public official? I touch upon the very life threads of the Republic, and words fail to express the solemnity of my thoughts. The Roman poet relegates to horrible torments in his hell the man "who sold his country for gold, imposed upon it a despotic master, and who made and unmade laws for a price."

> "Vendidit hic auro patriam, dominumque potentem
> Imposuit; fixit leges pretio, atque refixit."[1]

The poet had a righteous sense of the enormity of the crime! The suffrage is the power of life and death over the state. The one licit motive in its use is the public weal, and to the public weal private and party interests should always be sacrificed. The voter who makes misuse of the trust deserves to be disfranchised; he who compasses the misuse deserves to be proscribed. The public official is appointed for the people's good, and is sworn to labor for it; if he prostitutes his office, legislative or executive, in order to enrich himself or his friends, he has "sold his country for gold," and is a traitor. The distribution of offices, or of administrative power, must be based on fitness; the spoils system in politics inevitably leads to public corruption, unsafe and treacherous administration, and the ultimate foundering of the ship of state.

[1] Virgil: Aeneid, vi. 621.

Storms arising from sectarian hatred, from nativist or foreign prejudices, are passing over the land. They are not to be dreaded: they cannot last. Day by day the spirit of Americanism waxes strong; narrowness of thought and unreasoning strife cannot resist its influences.

This country is America: only they who are loyal to America should be allowed to live under her flag: and they who are loyal to her should enjoy all her rights and liberties. Freedom of religion is accorded by the Constitution: religion is put outside state action, and most wisely so; therefore, the religion of a citizen must not be considered by voter or executive officer. Discriminations and segregations in civil or political matters on lines of religion, of birthplace, of race, of language, of color, are wrong and un-American. Compel all to be Americans, in soul as well as in name: and then let the standard of their worth be their American citizenship.

Who will say that there is no work for patriotism in days of peace? Patriotism need not, perhaps, be so courageous now as in days of war; but it must be more vigilant and more constant, for the evils against which it has to contend in days of peace are more stealthy in their advance, more deceptive in their attack. We can easily believe that a country invincible in war may go down to its ruin amid the luxuries and somnolence of prolonged peace. Hannibal won at Thrasymene, but lost the fruits of victory amid the vineyards and orange-groves of Campania.

The days of war, many hope, are to pass away for good, and arbitration is to take the place of the sword. This may be desirable, for war is terrible. Yet it is not easy to see what is to be so effective as war in electrifying the nation's patriotism, and in communicating to it an ardor which refuses during many years to dim its glow. One thing, however, is certain, the same patriotism that saves the nation in war will uphold it in peace. In war or in peace we must, in season and out of season, see to it that the patriotism of the people suffer no diminution in vigor and in earnestness.[1]

Patriotism, the salvation of the country.

American patriotism is needed — patriotism intense, that speaks out in noble pride, with beating heart: "*Civis Americanus sum* — I am an American citizen;" patriotism active, that shows itself in deed and in sacrifice; patriotism public spirited, that loves the public weal as the very apple of the eye. Private civic virtue is not uncommon among us; less common is public civic virtue, that watches the ballot and all approaches to it, that demands that public officials do

[1] No doubt, war waged in defense of the life or other supreme interests of country intensifies the patriotism of a people. War, however, is not to be brought on for the mere purpose of intensifying patriotism. War is dreadful: sufferings and misery untold follow in its wake; only the gravest reasons can justify it. Such reasons existing, war is licit, and to wage war is the duty of the nation. War is dreadful; but there are things yet more dreadful. Such are the triumph of despotism, or of a great injustice, the ruin of country, the loss of national honor. The movement towards the settling of all controversies through arbitration is most praiseworthy. It is a movement towards the fullness of Christian civilization. Through efforts to bring about universal arbitration,

their duty, and that purifies public opinion on all matters where the interests of the country are at stake. This is the patriotism that will save the Republic.

To whom above all others does the Republic look for this patiotism? To her veteran soldiers.

This patriotism, America, thou shalt have. I speak for thy veteran soldiers; I speak for all thy sons.

Noblest ship of state, sail thou on through storm and billow undaunted, imperishable! I do not say of thee: "*Cæsarem vehis*—it is Cæsar thou art carrying." I say of thee: "*Libertatem vehis*—it is Liberty thou art carrying." Within thy bulwarks the fair goddess is enthroned, holding in her hands the hopes of humanity. For Liberty's sake, guard well thyself. Sail on, thou peerless ship, safe from shoals and malign winds, ever strong in keel, ever beauteous in prow and canvas, ever guided by heaven's polar star! Sail on, undaunted and imperishable!

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war can be made much less frequent than in the past, and herein is great gain for humanity. But will nations so advance in Christian civilization that, in fact, pride and passion will everywhere yield to the command of reason, and that the sacred rights of men and nations will need no other protection than the voice of a tribunal of justice? Let us work towards the realization of this ideal condition of the world. It is somewhat remote from the present time; and, meanwhile, the safety of a nation lies in readiness to give battle for its own vital interests or those of humanity.

AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP.

THE discourse on "American Citizenship" was delivered before the Union League Club of Chicago, on Washington's birthday, 1895.

The chief purpose for which the Union League Club of Chicago was organized is stated in its Articles of Association — "To inculcate a higher appreciation of the value and sacred obligations of American Citizenship."

The exercises under the auspices of the Club on the twenty-second day of February, 1895, in honor of Washington, were:

1. In the morning, addresses to the children of the schools of the city.

2. In the afternoon, a commemorative address in the Auditorium, by Archbishop Ireland.

3. In the evening, a banquet and speeches in the dining room of the clubhouse.

The President of the club, Mr. John H. Hamline, introduced the speaker at the afternoon exercises. He said:

"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: — Inspired solely by patriotic motives, the Union League Club has invited you to join with it in commemorating the birthday of George Washington. Its members feel that nothing can so much contribute to a solution

of the complex problems which mark the age and threaten our Republic, as a frequent recurrence to the study of the life and character of the father of this nation. As we ponder over the history of our country, and remember its achievements, and contemplate its power and grandeur, our hearts thrill with patriotic pride; but when we gaze upon the selfishness, incapacity, and corruption which characterize the government of all our large cities, we hang our heads in shame, and far too often find ourselves inquiring whether our own political and moral ideas are not truly represented by those who misgovern us.

"When we forecast the near future and behold a majority of our countrymen living within city gates, and realize that by their hands the destiny of this Republic of ours will be shaped, we feel that the individual citizen must return to the practices and adopt the precepts of George Washington, if freedom is not to perish from off the face of the earth. . . ."

AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP.

PUBLIC commemoration of good and great men serves a noble and sacred purpose. Let not church forget her saints, nor country her heroes. Humanity has a supreme need of ideals to teach it its high possibilities and to impel its sluggish nature to realize them.

George Washington: the ideal citizen.

George Washington! Americans, repeat again and again the name; bow in homage to the spirit that vivifies it. It is the name of the father of the Republic; it tells of the love he bore to her, the value he set upon her, the sacrifices he made for her; it summons Americans to guard, as the very treasure of their souls, the magnificent inheritance which he bequeathed to them.

George Washington! The name has this meaning — sincere, high-minded, intelligent, active, unceasing patriotism.

Repeat to-day the name of George Washington; do reverence to his spirit. It is your right; for to-day the Republic lives in all her grandeur and all her hopes, and there are millions who pledge to her their love, warm and strong, even unto the giving of their lives. But if ever, with years' long cycling,— O God of nations, allow it not! — the Republic of America become a silent tenant of history's page, or

survive only as the shadowy figure of her pristine self, then let no man from Atlantic to Pacific shores repeat the name of Washington; then let the people of this continent do him this honor — to bury his name with his work, and by their silence make confession that they were faithless to the one and the other, and unworthy of the glory of either.

American citizenship is American manhood.

Civis Romanus: a Roman Citizen! — a proud title this in olden days; the nations owned none prouder. It clothed its possessor with the majesty of imperial Rome and made him partaker of all her rights and honors. But we bear no envy to the sons of Romulus; we have a title — *Civis Americanus:* an American citizen! —and never was there another title equaling it in sublimity of meaning and in copious wealth of rights and privileges.

The Roman was a subject; the American is a monarch. Rome did not acknowledge, did not know, the thing that is best in the world — the manhood of man. Rome did not recognize manhood as the essential element of her citizenship. Neither did she enrich and elevate manhood, and for this defect not all the victories achieved by her legions, not all the wealth gathered by her proconsuls from the countries of the world, could make compensation.

American citizenship is American manhood, the manhood of all who are born into the American nation.

Abraham Lincoln defines the government established by George Washington: "A government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

America is thus the highest form of organized democracy.

A democratic government an extraordinary experiment.

At the time when the foundations of this nation were being laid, a democratic government was a bold and extraordinary experiment. Political power is, in ultimate analysis, derived from God through the people; the people are the first depositaries of it; and rulers, whose reign is based on right, are the people's agents. It would seem, then, most simple and most rational that the people, the original owners of this power, should retain it under their own control, and by their immediate action limit it to its sole legitimate purpose, the welfare of the people. And yet, in past ages the people were without political power. Individual men, or classes of men, exercised sovereign sway, as if in their own name and of their own inherited right. There were absolute monarchies; there were limited monarchies; there were governments which were in name republics; but in all of them, classes of men held power; nowhere did the people reign; nowhere was individual manhood the recognized basis of power.[1] And, as the natural consequence of unlimited authority, it often happened that kings and classes governed for their own benefit.

To be just, however, to other ages, we must say that a government by the people was scarcely possible; the masses were not possessed of the degree

[1] To this general statement exception may, perhaps, be taken in favor of some of the cantons of Switzerland; but as in

of intelligence and self-control necessary for self-government.

Slowly, nevertheless, but ceaselessly, humanity was moving forward, gaining age by age in consciousness of its rights; this consciousness being ever quickened by the influences of the Christian religion, and in particular by its teachings on the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Towards the close of the eighteenth century the spirit of democracy was hovering over the nations, seeking to incarnate itself in a people capable of its sublime life. At that time a new nation was to be born towards the setting sun, designed by its guardian angels for the highest aspirations of humanity. The Republic of the United States of America rose into being and majesty, and for the first time in history mankind beheld a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

A new nation!

The essence of the American Republic is manhood suffrage — the recognition of the dignity of manhood in all men, and of its capability as a factor of government. The government of America is a government by the people. The people are trusted and deemed capable of caring for their public interests, and, while the immediate and direct administration of affairs by the whole people is not possible in a large and important country, yet the officials delegated by the people for this administration are named for

The foundation of the Republic is the recognition of manhood in man.

several of the cantons the suffrage was not absolutely universal, it still remains true that in the United States for the first time manhood was unreservedly recognized as the basis of power.

periods of time so limited that, as a matter of fact, the people remain the governing authority.

"The foundation of the Republic," says Mr. James Bryce, "is confidence in the multitude, in its honesty and good sense, in its certainty of arriving at right conclusions."[1] This is the political faith of Americans: A part of the people may be wrong the whole time; the whole people may be wrong a part of the time; but the whole people will not be wrong the whole time.[2]

The creation of the Republic the boldest political act recorded in history.

The Republic of America was an act of supreme confidence in man, a profession of faith, such as never before had been made, in human dignity and human ability. Its creation was the boldest political act recorded in history. Even at this day it is said: "Americans are trying, and that on the largest scale, the most remarkable experiment in government the world has yet witnessed."[3] Jean Jacques Rousseau wrote that democracy is a government for gods, but not for men. As our patriot sires uplifted the starry flag, perfumed with the hopes of the new spirit in humanity, the nations declared them foolish, and foretold for the Republic a brief period of years. "The American Republic," wrote Joseph De Maistre, "is only in swathing clothes; let her grow; let a century go by, and we shall see what she is."[4]

[1] "The American Commonwealth."

[2] One of Mr. Lincoln's political maxims.

[3] "The American Commonwealth."

[4] Joseph De Maistre: "Considérations sur la France," chap. iv.

The Republic of America was deemed a passing illusion, and no attention was allowed her in the calculations of the political possibilities of the world.

A century has gone by, and Washington's Republic endures; she has grown; she is to-day of giant stature; she thrills with potent strength and exalted hopes, such as not even the most sanguine dreams of Washington had ever pictured. Nor meanwhile has the Republic been without perils to test her strength. Opponents of democracy see danger for it in the expansion of the country in domain and population. The ship that floats securely upon the placid waters of narrow seas, may founder amid the fierce tempests of the broad ocean. A marvelous expansion in domain and population came to America. But it only proved the occasion for her to bring out latent forces of adaptation and endurance which surprised even the most ardent lovers of democracy. A more terrible peril—the one which above all others America's friends had been dreading—was encountered by the Republic—war between the States and the central government. But the Civil War was the one test needed to give the Republic the full consciousness of her power, and never was she so strong in the elements of life, never so entrancing in beauty, never so menacing to the foes of democracy, as when the sun of Appomattox shone on her banner and revealed upon its azure ground the full galaxy of her stars.

Meantime fortune's favors were most generously showered upon America's sons. I shall not make

the mistake of attributing to the institutions of democracy all the blessings which have been apportioned to America. Nature is here so lavish of her gifts that any civilized people under any stable form of government should have prospered. Bounteous, indeed, is the land we own. During all the long ages in which humanity was in travail with the precious liberties of democracy, the mighty God had been holding this land in reserve for the providential nation of the new times. On earth's orb there is no other region so rich, so beauteous, as our own America. America is, what, fifty years ago, De Tocqueville said of a part of it, "the most magnificent dwelling place prepared by God for man's abode."[1] To our institutions, however, we are largely indebted for the wondrous development to which the country has attained. What but the powerful individualism, the spirit of private enterprise, which is the direct result of our liberties, has been, throughout the century, the mainspring of our commercial and industrial activity? What but the deep sense of dignity and freedom, which is so largely due to democracy, has been the chief motive power along all the lines of American progress, and the chief inspiration of our personal and social contentment? American liberties have removed class privileges, made every citizen the arbiter of his destiny, brought highest honors and

America, a rich and beauteous land.

[1] "The valley of the Mississippi is, upon the whole, the most magnificent dwelling place prepared by God for man's abode; and yet it may be said that at present it is but a mighty desert." De Tocqueville: "American Democracy," chap. i.

highest prizes within the reach of talent and industry, and constituted individual worth the sole condition of success. In the growth of all departments of our national life manhood is the conspicuous factor; and democracy, beyond any other form of government, begets and fosters manhood.

America, how good, how great, thou art! Thy critics can cast upon thee but one reproach — that thou art too good and too great for thy sons to understand thee and value thee as thou deservest, and to treat thee with the love, loyalty, and respect which are needed to preserve thy life and strength. Americans, it is for you to give reply.

The providential nation of the new times.

I have called America the providential nation. Even as I believe that God rules over men and nations, so do I believe that a divine mission has been assigned to the Republic of the United States. That mission is to prepare the world, by example and moral influence, for the universal reign of human liberty and human rights. America does not live for herself alone; the destinies of humanity are in her keeping. No Monroe doctrine confines her democracy within Atlantic and Pacific shores. American citizenship sustains the liberties of humanity. In Washington's day, the spirit of America, which the soldiers of Lafayette and Rochambeau had borne to their homes, hastened the French revolution. In Europe, however, Liberty was retarded in her progress by the wild excesses of her own champions; but, drawing courage and hope from

America's democracy, she never ceased to struggle until Europe became, in fact, if not in name, free and democratic. To-day, France is a well established republic; Spain and Italy have reached the confines of republican regime; Germany elects her parliament, which a Hohenzollern emperor fears and obeys; in England suffrage is almost universal; in Belgium it is entirely so; in Russia the government must reckon with the masses of the population, and even in far-off Japan a representative parliament divides the supreme power with the occupant of the once deified throne of the Mikado; but, towering amid them all, America rises before the whole world, in the power and majesty of personified democracy, the hope of liberty's friends, the despair of liberty's foes. O America, guard well thyself! for if thou fail, the hopes of humanity fail with thee.

Noblesse oblige. The citizens of America are her monarchs. No other country deserves so well of its people, and no other is so dependent upon its people as America. Our country! To it, after God, we are indebted for all things. To it, after God, is due our sovereign allegiance. Time, labor, wealth, life, family—all should be lost sight of when country demands the sacrifice.

Americans, noblesse oblige.

De Tocqueville tells of two kinds of patriotism.[1] One is the attachment arising principally from the instinctive, disinterested and undefinable feeling that

[1] "American Democracy," chap. xiv.

binds the heart of man to his home and its traditions. The other is a more rational attachment, less ardent, perhaps, and less generous, but more fruitful and more lasting. It is born with the spread of knowledge; it is nurtured by laws; it grows by the exercise of civil rights, and in the end is identified with the personal interest of the citizen. It arises as men comprehend the influence which the prosperity of their country has upon their welfare and whatever they hold dear, as they learn that the laws authorize them to contribute their assistance to that prosperity, and as they labor to promote it as a portion of their right.

To America be given patriotism at once instinctive and rational. All that man can give to his country, America deserves.

A government of the people, by the people, and for the people, as proposed by the founders of the Republic, was, we have said, a stupendous experiment. The experiment has succeeded. How long will it continue to succeed? So long as Americans are possessed of patriotism, earnest and sincere, and fulfill the duties it dictates.

Democracy has its perils.

Democracy always has its perils. Americans must be vigilant. The great forces from which the Republic must draw its life are morality, religion and intelligence. Patriotism bids us to do all we can to preserve and strengthen those forces.

I repeat the immortal words of Washington's Farewell Address:

"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. . . . Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles. . . . Promote as an object of primary importance institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened."

Washington's prophetic counsels.

Morality is the very soul of good citizenship. The deep abiding sense of duty, the quickly responsive moral conscience, can effect what interest, ambition, honor would vainly attempt. They who observe the "ten commandments" violate no civil law and are prompt to respond in action and sacrifice to country's call. The nation may seem strong and prosperous, and the sentinels on its outposts may repeat that no peril is nigh: but if sensuality, dishonesty, and intemperance dwell in the hearts of the people, the strength of the nation has departed, and the dark shadows of death are fast descending upon it. Republics live by virtue. Monarchies and empires may rely on physical force, or on the wisdom and goodness of the one or the few. Republics

Morality is the soul of good citizenship.

are ruled by the many, and the virtue of the people is the life of the nation.

Religion gives life and power to morality.

Religion gives life and power to morality. Without religion, without the recognition of a living God, the ruler of nations, and the everlasting impersonation of righteousness and its avenger, morality is vague in its enactments and feeble in its enforcements. For civilized nations, the living God manifests Himself in the Christian faith. While the government of America in its official rulings wisely permits no union between itself and church organizations, it is most fortunate for America that the people hold by the deepest roots of their being to a God and a Saviour. The undying religious spirit of the people is the surest hope of the Republic. Leave us the Christian Sunday, with the music of its sacred bells, the incense of its uplifting prayer, the quickening of its divine teachings, and Americans will be worthy of their liberties, and the Republic of America will endure.

Universal intelligence essential to democracy.

Intelligence in the people is essential to a democracy. Democracy implies manhood suffrage, and without a sufficient understanding of the scope and importance of the suffrage, and of the interests of the commonwealth, the voter is a blind machine, moved and directed by external forces. In absolute governments, however necessary or useful for his private weal instruction may be to the citizen, the state, as such, is not dependent upon the proper under-

standing by the individual of his civic rights and duties. Not so in a republic, where every man actively participates in public affairs. The parent in America who allows his children to be untutored and ignorant, offends not only against his children, but against the state, and deserves punishment from the state.

With all their devotion to education, Americans perhaps leave room for warning, lest the education so profusely dispensed to their children in schools and colleges be the education only of the mind, developing in this faculty cleverness of action, in itself indifferent to good or evil, and be not, also, the discipline of the moral soul, which is the source of the inspiration and the practical guidance of life.

I may, too, be allowed to remark that in our schools and colleges sufficient attention is not given to instruction in the nature and functions of republican government, in the duties of citizenship, and in the elements of political economy.

The use of the ballot, the supreme act of citizenship.

The casting of the ballot is the supreme act of citizenship. Ballot in hand, the citizen is a sovereign, and with his fellow-citizens he decides the destiny of the Republic.

> "Not lightly fall,
> Beyond recall,
> The written scrolls, a breath can float.
>
> "The crowning fact,
> The kingliest act,
> Of freedom, is the freeman's vote."

The ballot is the pride of the true American; the proper use of it is a sacred duty. The American who does not care to vote on election day, deserves disfranchisement or exile: the American who boasts of his political indolence proclaims his own shame. Thoughtful writers stigmatize as the most serious peril of democracy the indifference towards the political life of the country manifested by respectable, well-meaning and educated citizens. These are the men who more generally eschew politics, while the selfish and the reckless, men who have private ends to serve and who, provided they can satisfy their own ambition and greed, care but little what becomes of the country, will never be absent from the caucus or the voting booth. This peril has come to America; let us be prompt to avert it, while there is yet time. If there are throughout the land corrupt municipal administrations, ignorant and venal legislatures, is not the fact largely, if not entirely, due to this, that capable and honest men find no time, have no inclination, for the political convention or the public service?

I am afraid that with some, who profess to be the staunchest Americans, patriotism is in practice made subservient to business claims, or to a false sentiment of self-respect. Some, too, perhaps, there are who are not free from the undemocratic and, consequently, un-American feeling that we lose our personal dignity if we mingle on equal terms, as we must when we enter the political arena, with men of all social classes. Far removed is this from the

truth. When we mingle with men as citizens, we mingle with noblemen; when we serve our country, no matter when and where, we ennoble ourselves. Well has it been said: "It is not the man who sits by his fireside reading his evening paper, and saying how bad are politics and politicians, who will ever do anything to save us; it is the man who goes out into the rough hurly-burly of the caucus, the primary, and the political meeting, and there faces his fellows on equal terms."[1] Let us all be politicians in the true and noble meaning of the word.

The caucus and the primary.

Among the misfortunes of America I must mention the caucus and the primary. By these a few men are enabled to impose upon a whole party their own candidates. "Wire-pullers" and "slate-makers" take the place of the people, and frustrate popular suffrage. The evil is all the more serious when, as often happens, the wire-pullers and slate-makers are men who own or frequent saloons, and whose work to obtain the mastership of city, state and nation, is done amid brutalizing potations of whiskey and beer.

The liquor power in politics.

The liquor power must be totally eliminated from politics if we respect the institutions of American democracy and desire their permanency. The aims of the saloon are selfish; its methods are slimy and criminal. It thrives by despoiling men of their reason and firing their passions. Its fruits are the

[1] Hon. Theodore Roosevelt: "The Manly Virtue and Practical Politics." — *The Forum*, July, 1894.

moral and physical wrecks of humanity that crowd our jails and poorhouses. In order to prosecute with fuller freedom its dire work, it seeks the control of politics, reduces them to its own level, and, if successful, chains in slavery to its chariot wheels the degraded commonwealth that allowed its triumph. The American patriot will never pollute his hand with the touch of an electoral ticket that shows the earmarks of the liquor dealer.

The political "boss."

The political "boss" is the outgrowth of ignorant and vicious citizenship, and his reign fosters the low elements that make it possible. What an insult it is to American citizenship that men should be found who own the votes of their fellow-citizens and make them the matter of vile barter! The work of the patriot is to elevate among the whole people the standard of citizenship, so that no citizen shall permit malign agencies to influence him in the exercise of the franchise, and thus deprive him of the highest political freedom.

Selling and buying of votes.

The man who sells his vote sells his country; and the man who buys a vote immolates patriotism on the unclean altar of greed and ambition. Bribery at the polls is the mockery of manhood suffrage. I have no faith in the assertions that are sometimes made of wholesale bribery in American elections. Statements of this kind are not true; they are due to thoughtlessness and are made in excuse for political defeat; they do harm by spreading among foreign nations false notions

of American politics, and, perhaps, by familiarizing our own people with ideas of evil practices.[1]

But neither am I prepared to say that bribery never occurs in America, and I would fain awaken against it such strong public opinion that severe legal penalties would be meted out to it, and that the men guilty of it would be ostracized from decent social companionship. Bribery is high treason and must be repressed at all costs.

I merely mention, for you to execrate it, the crime of those audacious malefactors who put their robber hands into electoral urns, to make the official records lie to the country and thwart the will of the people.

Country above party.

The tendency of citizens of a republic is to divide into political parties. Parties serve good purposes. One excites the emulation of the other; one prevents the other from doing wrong. To the good citizen, however, party is always of less importance than country, and it secures his allegiance only so long

[1] A French writer, Le Marquis de Chambrun, who resided in Washington for twenty years, as "avocat" of the French Legation, pays this tribute to the public men of the United States: "I ask those who have had relations with public men in America, who may be considered as of importance in their own state or in the National Congress: How many of them were found to have been seduced by promises, and won over by money? . . . Let the list, for instance, be taken of twenty or twenty-five senators of the United States who lead and govern the great assembly of the country; let detailed notes be made on each one of them, on his antecedents, on his fortune; and then let him be judged. For myself, I have again and again done all this, I have pronounced judgment on the men, and the judgment was one of unreserved acquittal. And so it is with members of the House, and with high Federal officials. If

as he conscientiously believes it to be the surest means of safeguarding the public weal. Be, as you will, Democrats or Republicans, but first and always be Americans. The high-minded patriotism so frequently manifested in America is one of the most encouraging signs of the times. The independent voter is legion, and the party which is unable to understand or unwilling to perform its duty, will, however great its triumph at the polls, go down ere long in defeat and disgrace. When the interest of faction is placed above the general good, patriotism has departed and nations die.

The best men needed in office.

A reproach commonly urged against democracy is that it will not bring its best men to the front, and will often permit the mediocre and the unfit to climb into power and positions of trust. The crowd, it is presumed, will be jealous of superiority and disposed to pull down rather than to lift up; merit, timid and sensitive, will shrink from self-aggrandizement and leave the field free to the common and the bold; the more educated and refined will be unwilling to accept offices which impose arduous labors and bring small emolument, but which are coveted by inferior men.

Whatever weight is due to those considerations, the reproach of which I speak is not altogether inapplicable to democracy in America. In great

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some scandals have occurred in a country of implacable publicity, the investigations which followed only brought out more clearly, in most cases, the perfect integrity of the great body of public men" De Chambrun: "Droits et Libertés aux États-Unis."—Paris, 1891.

emergencies, whether in civil or military affairs, the national spirit is aroused; the people do their duty; the best men are summoned to take the lead, and the best men are ready to respond to the nation's call. But in ordinary times we are careless, and we allow those who will, to become the rulers of city, state and nation. Let us take care; harm is done while we slumber, and evils creep into the body politic from which it will suffer many grievous woes. Democracy is most in peril when all is calm and the people are deceived into calling off the watches. Let the country always elect as its guardians its best and worthiest sons; let voters seek them out and give them honor. Incapable men should not be chosen; still less, dishonest or immoral men. The party that places on its ticket dishonored names should be overwhelmed in inglorious defeat, and taught the stern lesson that insult is never offered with impunity to the sacredness and purity of the Republic.

Duties of public officials.

The responsibility of citizenship is doubly great when it is entrusted with the official guardianship of the interests of the country. Office-holders, from the highest to the lowest, are delegates of the sovereign people, representatives of the Republic and defenders of her liberty and honor. The trust is a most sacred one, and is to be administered with an eye single to the weal of the country. Private or party ends must not be allowed a hearing; men who debase the power of office to such ends must receive from the

people severe rebuke. Not what will please the mob, not what will gain votes in a future political campaign, not what will bring money, is to be done; but what duty prompts, and what the public interests demand. Lawmakers who in legislative halls of city, state or nation accept bribes, attempt the life of the Republic in the very sanctuaries of her authority and majesty.

It is execrable for men in office to force citizens into purchasing protection which the law guarantees, or to grant for a price exemption from penalties which the law decrees. Such an abuse of power would cause despair of popular government, were it not that, once brought to see it, the people stamp it out with relentless energy.

The distribution of offices by municipal, state or national administrations, must be based on fitness.

The spoils system.

The spoils system in politics permits the purchase of votes by the promise of place; it makes the test for office not the fitness of the candidate, but the work done for the political boss. We may well wonder, with Mr. James Bryce, that a people so eminently practical as the Americans acquiesced in a system which perverts public office from its function of serving the public, destroys the prospect of that efficiency which comes with experience, and leaves nobody the least security that he will gain a higher post, or even retain the one he holds, by displaying conspicuous ability. Civil service is one of the most commendable movements of the day.

Law is order in liberty, and without order liberty is social chaos. The highest test of a people's fitness for free institutions is their willingness to obey law. In monarchies and empires physical force restrains the multitude and maintains government. In a democracy all depends on the intelligence and conscience of the people. Americans are law abiding. Facts which are adduced to the contrary are of infrequent occurrence. The prevailing spirit of our people is to observe law — to revoke it if they dislike its provisions, but to observe it while it stands written on the pages of the statute book. Exceptions there have been; mobs have striven by rioting to redress real or imaginary grievances; holders of public power have hesitated to enforce the law and to punish those daring to violate it; for the time being the pall of death hung over democracy. If exceptions of this kind were frequent, all would soon be over for the Republic.

Obedience to law.

Whenever riots occur in the cities of America, the enemies of democracy throughout the whole world rejoice, and declare that a popular government is incapable of giving to a country peace and security. When, some months ago, the President of the United States pledged the whole power of the land to maintain law and order, he proclaimed the right of the Republic to live, and vindicated the sovereignty of the people.[1] Democracy

Suppression of riots.

[1] Allusion is here made to the sending of United States troops by President Cleveland to protect the property and enforce the laws of the nation during the Chicago riots of 1894.

is political liberty, the everlasting adversary of despotism and of anarchy.

Other dangers confront us besides those which arise from democracy itself.

As if in bold resolve to put republican institutions to the most severe trial, we have opened our harbors to people of all lands, even to those who by education and tradition are the least prepared for our social and political life; and almost as soon as they touch our soil we grant them the privilege of citizenship.

Perils from unrestricted immigration.

The difficulties which arise from immigration are sufficient to awaken vigilance, but not to cause alarm. A well-directed immigration will not be detrimental to American spirit or to American loyalty. The spirit of our institutions should, of course, be made to pervade our foreign-born populations. Immigration should be restricted so as to exclude criminals and unmanned paupers. Nor should immigrants in any State of the Union be prematurely authorized to vote. Due respect for American citizenship ought to guard against a reckless extension of it to men coming to us from other lands. No one should be invested with the franchise until a sufficient residence in the country has given him full opportunity to understand its institutions and laws. No encouragement must be given to social and political organizations or methods which perpetuate in this country foreign ideas and customs. An Irish-American, a German-American, or a French-American vote is an

intolerable anomaly. We receive from America the right to vote as Americans, for America's weal, and if we cannot use our privilege as Americans we should surrender it. Efforts to concentrate immigrants in social groups and to retard their Americanization should be steadily frowned down. There are in America self-constituted leaders of foreign-born citizens who speak of Americanization as a term of reproach; with such men public opinion should deal severely. But such measures taken, we may rest assured that no harm will come from immigration. The material resources of our continent seem as yet limitless; our institutions easily win the esteem and love of those who link their destinies with ours, and there is in the plastic nature of all men, under proper influences, a wondrous susceptibility to civil and political liberty.

Americanization of some Americans needed.

While we seek to Americanize immigrants, may it not be well to guard some Americans against being foreignized? American citizenship implies a sincere love for America, a strong devotion to political democracy, an earnestness in advancing the interests of the country. These vital features of American citizenship we do not discern in the thousands of Americans, who, professing that in their own country there is no salubrity of air, no sublimity of mountain scenery, no beauty of landscape, roam annually from one end of Europe to the other, scattering broadcast on that continent a hundred millions or more of American dollars. They are not Americans, except

inasmuch as they draw their gold from America, who colonize the so-called American quarters in the capitals of Europe. Nor are they Americans who glory in importing foreign fashions of language and dress, and who are willing to pay treble prices for ornaments of home or person, merely because these ornaments are of foreign fabrication. And they surely are not Americans who covet, above all that is American, foreign titles for their fortunes and their daughters? There is room among Americans for the work of Americanization.

Human society, under every form of government, is entering upon a period of intense unrest in its search of solutions for those economic problems which are called forth by the spread of education and the material and industrial progress of modern times. The liberty of discussion which our institutions allow, and the fact that the populations of the world are parts of our own, warn us that the agitation of these problems will be especially acute in the United States. And it is, furthermore, presumed that political equality will suggest social and economical equality, that the people, being the makers of the law, and understanding its power, will be tempted to seek through it remedies for all actual or fancied grievances.

Is peril to be feared for the country from state socialism? My answer is that we may rely on the good sense and the spirit of individualism of the American people—qualities which come to them both from traditions of long years and from democracy

itself. It is a truth, which Americans do not fail to grasp, that, as Burke said, "men have equal rights, but not to equal things." Americans will not, in the hope of ulterior results, be willing to become parts of a vast machine, in which each one is but a link in a chain, or a cog in a wheel, without power of self-assertion. State socialism, even if it cloaks itself under the name of liberty, is in reality the veriest despotism, and is radically opposed to the American mind and heart.

No danger of state socialism, or of social warfare.

There are primary social truths which Americans, rich and poor, understand, and which, when well understood, are potent barriers to state socialism. Poverty that is not caused by one's own fault is no crime, no cause of shame, and does not detract from the dignity of man. Wealth, the fruit of thought and labor, is honorable. Capital and labor are necessary one to the other, and for its own sake one should guard the rights of the other. Once we admit in men diversity of natural resources, and the right to the results of their own energy and industry, there must necessarily be accumulation of capital. Moreover without such accumulation, large enterprises are impossible and labor is without employment. The certainty that he will control and enjoy the results of his own thought and labor, impels the individual to put forth all his energy, and thus conduces to the general prosperity of the nation. The toiler knows that he lives in a land of opportunities, where he may be rich to-morrow,

and he is glad to defend his right to possible future possessions, by defending to-day the rights of other men to their possessions.

I have, therefore, full confidence that in America there will be no social warfare, no state socialism. Temporary ills may, however, arise, and to prevent them I appeal to the patriotism and Christian sentiment of Americans. There are duties for all. Let the employer be just and kind to the employee; let the employee be just and faithful to the employer. Let the rich be mindful that wealth is a great social trust; let the poor remember that liberty and social order are conditions of their peace and social elevation. Let none forget that country is paramount to private interests, and that God is the master and judge of all men.[1]

Yes, fellow-citizens, the Republic will endure. Humanity in its onward march of ages has reached the era of democracy, and from democracy there is no

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[1] In a letter written from London to Henry S. Randall, editor of "Jefferson's Memoirs," and dated May 23, 1857, Lord Macaulay, in considering the future of the American Republic (Vide Trevelyan's Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay), asserts that the peril from which democracy in America cannot escape will befall it in a season of hard times, when the masses of the people, famishing through lack of work, or insufficiency of wages, will make use of their political power to despoil the rich and disrupt society. "I seriously apprehend," he says, "that you will in some such season of adversity, as I have described, do things which will prevent prosperity from returning; that you will act like people who should in a year of scarcity devour all the seed-corn, and thus make the next a year not of scarcity, but of absolute famine."

The danger pointed out by Lord Macaulay will not occur. The people of America are too patriotic ever — even under pressure of the temporary suffering which hard times may entail — to imperil the institutions of the country or to tarnish

backward course. In no enlightened country will a people again submit to a government of which they are not integral parts. Where the masses are not fit for the rights and duties of a democratic regime, there remains but one thing to do — to lift them up to the plane of their new destiny. The world must to-day choose between healthy popular government and social anarchy. Recourse cannot be had to Cæsarism. Cæsarism would last but a day. The sole salvation lies in making the people capable of governing themselves.[1]

From democracy there is no backward course.

America has made the experiment of democracy in conditions and with results which do not permit us to doubt of her future success. I have unreserved confidence in the great national heart of America. Temporary aberrations are possible. But the government of the Republic is so constructed, and its parts so adjusted that, while essentially popular in its whole frame work, it does not yield to the passing passions of its masters; before such passions might harm it, time will have calmed them, and the good judgment and the sound patriotism of the people will have prevailed.

The Republic of America will endure.

the national honor. They have too much good sense to run after social or financial will-o'-the-wisps, or to seek prosperity in wild and revolutionary experiments.

[1] Even Lecky writes: "I do not think that anyone who seriously considers the force and universality of the movement of our generation in the direction of democracy can doubt that this conception of government will necessarily, at least for a considerable time, dominate in all civilized countries, and that the real question for politicians is the form it is likely to take, and the means by which its characteristic evils can be best mitigated."—"Democracy and Liberty," chap. I.

To guard against even temporary aberrations is in our power by sedulously cultivating in ourselves and in our fellow Americans the spirit of American citizenship.

Americans, God has given you a great country; guard her well. He has made you a spectacle to all nations; He has confided to you humanity's highest destiny; be not unworthy of Heaven's confidence.

America, we pledge to thee our love and fealty. Could we this evening wave over thee a magic wand and secure to thee, for all future years, peace, and happiness, and prosperity, the wand would surely be waved, and earth and sky would make thine their most precious blessings.

America, upon thee we invoke the favor of the God of nations, in whose most gracious keeping thou hast been from the day of thy birth to the present moment. O, God, we pray Thee, bless and guard our country!

Our fathers' God! from out whose hand
The centuries fall like grains of sand,
We meet to-day united, free,
And loyal to our land and Thee,
And thank Thee for the era done,
And trust Thee for the opening one.

Oh, make Thou us, through centuries long,
In peace secure, in justice strong;
Around our gifts of freedom draw
The safeguards of Thy righteous law;
And, cast in some diviner mold,
Let the new cycle shame the old.

AT the banquet given by the Union League Club, on the evening of February 22, 1895, Archbishop Ireland spoke to the toast, "The Churchman as a Citizen." He said:

"The club, no doubt, in proposing the toast, desires to read a lesson to churchmen, as it has been all this day reading lessons to other citizens, on their civic duties. I am not at all sure that churchmen do not stand in need of the lesson; they belong, I fear, to the class I made mention of this afternoon — the educated and the refined, who, perusing leisurely at home their morning or evening paper, lament the corruption of politics, but are never found striving by word or act to mend politics. . . . The churchman should be a good citizen, earnest and active in the affairs of state and nation, of city and village. There are many ways in which he can show his good citizenship, without the smallest infringement upon clerical propriety. The churchman is a master in Israel, bound to teach by word and example his fellowmen their religious and moral duties. Good citizenship is certainly a great religious and moral duty. God made us a nation: God commands what will preserve the nation, good citizenship. Let the churchman preach good citizenship; let him practice it. Let him be glad to cast his ballot on election day, and to prove by his presence at the polls that he is proud of his title of American citizen. And when he does vote, let it be known far and wide that he votes for good men, pure-minded men, honest and capable men. To be patriotic in words is of small avail; to be patriotic in deeds, whether on the battlefield in time of war, or at the polls in time of peace, is what saves the country.

The churchman as a citizen.

"It is said: A churchman cannot be a good citizen, for he puts Church before Country, and sacrifices Country for Church. They who speak thus do not understand the spheres of Church and State. The Church has charge of faith and morals; the State has charge of temporal and political interests. When I am asked: Do you put Church before Country, or Country before Church? I reply: I neither put Church before Country, nor Country before Church. Church and Country work in altogether different spheres. My Church enjoins obedience to itself in its own sphere, and obedience to Country within its sphere. The Church is supreme in one order of things; the State is supreme in another order. . . ."

STATE SCHOOLS AND PARISH SCHOOLS.

IN 1890 the "National Educational Association of the United States" held its general convention in the city of St. Paul.

Among the addresses made during the sessions of the convention was one by Archbishop Ireland on "State Schools and Parish Schools."

In this address the Archbishop asks the question: Is union possible between the state school and the parish school?

He first treats of the state school. He concedes to the State the right to establish and conduct schools; he praises the liberality of the state school in offering to its wards gratuitous instruction; he acknowledges the high value of the state school of America in the imparting of secular instruction; he declares that not only does he favor the establishment of schools by the State, but that he is willing to go further than the State usually goes to-day, and to approve the enactment of laws which would make compulsory the attendance of all children in well-appointed schools of some kind—state, parish or private.

The Archbishop next announces his objection to the state school of America as it is at present organized. The objection is that the state school makes

no provision for the religious instruction of children. As it is the absence of religious instruction from the state school that gives cause for the establishment of parish or denominational schools, a compromise is recommended, through which the state school shall be made acceptable to the advocates of the parish school, and shall suffice for the education of all the children of the land. Two plans of compromise, both being "local and temporary," are proposed for adoption until a more satisfactory plan be brought forward.

It is to be confessed that the day of union between the state school and the parish school does not seem nigh. Public opinion is not ready for any form of compromise, and public opinion must be respected. No harm, however, can come from a friendly discussion of principles and of possible solutions of the controversies to which the present manner of organization of the state school has given rise.

The address on "State Schools and Parish Schools" was honored with severe criticism, both from adherents of the state school and from adherents of the parish school. No other reply is offered than the presentation of the address itself.

STATE SCHOOLS AND PARISH SCHOOLS.

I BEG leave to make at once my profession of faith. I declare unbounded loyalty to the constitution of my country. I desire no favors; I claim no rights that are not in consonance with its letter and spirit. The rights which the constitution guarantees I do claim, and, in doing so, I am but the truer and more loyal American. In what I am about to say to this distinguished audience the principles of our common American citizenship will inspire my words. I beg you to listen to me, and to discuss my arguments in the light of those principles.

I am a friend and an advocate of the state school. In the circumstances of the present time I uphold the parish school. I sincerely wish that the need for it did not exist. I would have all schools for the children of the people to be state schools.

The accusation has gone abroad that Catholics are bent on destroying the state school. Never was accusation more unfounded. I will summarize the articles of my school creed; they follow all the lines upon which the state school is built.

The right of the state school to exist is, I consider, a matter beyond the stage of discussion.[1] I

[1] "Absolutely and universally speaking, there is no repugnance in learning the first elements and the higher branches of

fully concede it. I go farther: I concede the necessity of the state school. The child must have instruction, and in no mean degree, if the man is to earn for himself an honest competence, and acquit himself of the duties which, for its own life and prosperity, society exacts from all its members. This proposition, which is true in any country of modern times, is peculiarly true in America. The imparting of such instruction is primarily the function of the parent.

The necessity of the state school to exist.

The divine appointment is that under the care and direction of the parent the child shall grow in mind as well as in body. But, as things are, tens of thousands of children will not be instructed if parents solely remain in charge of the duty. The State must come forward as an agent of instruction; else ignorance will prevail. Indeed, in the absence of state action there never was that universal instruction which we have so nearly attained, and which we deem so necessary. In the absence of state action universal instruction would, I believe, never have been possible in any country.

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the arts and the natural sciences in public schools controlled by the state, whose office is to provide and protect everything by which its citizens are formed to moral goodness." Cardinal Satolli: "Propositions for the Settling of the School Question."

"The State has its degree of authority over the secular education of its citizens, but the Church has exclusive authority over the religious education of her children." Rev. W. H. Hill, S. J., "Ethics," 7th ed., p. 261. Consult also Dr. Thomas Bouquillon, "Education: To Whom Does It Belong?" It is sometimes stated that the theories of Dr. Bouquillon on the school question were condemned at Rome. The statement is untrue.

Universal instruction implies free schools in which knowledge is to be had for the asking; in no other manner can instruction be brought within the reach of all children. Free schools! Blest indeed is the nation whose vales and hillsides they adorn, and blest the generations upon whose souls are poured their treasures! No tax is more legitimate than that which is levied in order to dispel mental darkness, and build up within the nation's bosom intelligent manhood and womanhood. The question should not be raised: How much good accrues to the individual tax payer? It suffices that the general welfare is promoted. It is scarcely necessary to add that the money paid in school tax is the money of the State, and is to be disbursed only by the officials of the State, and only for the specific purposes for which it was collected.

Gratuitous instruction.

I am unreservedly in favor of state laws making instruction compulsory. Instruction is so much needed by the citizen for his own sake and for that of society that the parent who neglects to provide for the education of the child sins against the child and against society, and should be punished by the State. First principles, of course, must not be forgotten. Since instruction is primarily the function of the parent, the parent possesses the right to educate his child in the manner agreeable to himself, provided always that the education given in this manner suffices to fit the child for his ulterior duties to

Instruction of children should be made compulsory.

society. Only when children do not attend other schools known to be competent to impart instruction, should compulsory education demand attendance in state schools. The compulsory laws recently enacted in certain states of the Union are, in my judgment, objectionable in a few of their incidental clauses. These clauses will, I am confident, be readily altered in future legislative sessions. With the body of the laws, and their general intent to ensure universal instruction, I am in most hearty accord.

Value of the American state school.

It were idle for me to praise the work of the state school of America in imparting secular instruction. We all recognize its value. It is our pride and our glory. The Republic of the United States has solemnly affirmed its resolve that within its borders no clouds of ignorance shall settle upon the minds of the children of its people. In furnishing the means to accomplish this result its generosity knows no limit. The free school of America! Withered be the hand raised in sign of its destruction!

Can I be suspected of enmity to the state school because I would fain widen the expanse of its wings until all the children of the people find shelter beneath their cover; because I tell of defects which for very love of the state school I seek to remedy?

I turn to the denominational or parish school. It exists. I again express my regret that there is a necessity for its existence. In behalf of the state school I call upon my fellow-Americans to aid in the removal of this necessity.

Catholics are foremost in establishing parish schools — seven hundred and fifty thousand children, it is estimated, are educated in their parish schools. Only a lack of material means prevents them from housing the full number of their children. Lutherans, also, exhibit great zeal for parish schools. Many Episcopalians, and not a few of other Protestant denominations, commend and organize parish schools. The various denominational colleges of the country are practically parish schools for the children of the richer classes. The spirit of the parish school, if not the school itself, is widespread among American Protestants, and is made manifest by their determined opposition to the exclusion of Scripture-reading and other devotional exercises from the schoolroom.

There is dissatisfaction with the state school as it is at present organized. The state school tends to eliminate religion from the minds and hearts of the youth of the country.

This is my grievance against the state school of to-day. Believe me, my Protestant fellow-citizens, I am absolutely sincere, when I declare that I speak for the weal of Protestantism as well as for that of Catholicism. I am a Catholic, of course, to the tiniest fibre of my heart, unflinching and uncompromising in my faith. But God forbid that I should desire to see in America the ground which Protestantism now occupies swept by the devastating blast of unbelief. Let me be your ally in

Objection to the state school: It makes no provision for religious instruction.

warding off from the country irreligion, the destroyer of Christian life and of Christian civilization. What we have to fear is the materialism that does not see beyond the universe a living personal God, and the agnosticism that reduces Him to an unknown perhaps. Irreligion is abroad, scorning the salvation which is offered in the teachings and graces of Christ Jesus, sneering at the Biblical page, warring upon the sacredness of the Christian Sabbath and the music of its church bells that tell of Heaven and of the hopes of immortal souls. Let us be on our guard. In our fear lest Protestants gain some advantage over Catholics, or Catholics over Protestants, we play into the hands of unbelievers and secularists. We have given over to them the school, the nursery of thought. Are we not securing to them the mastery of the future?

The evil fruits of a non-religious school.

The state school is non-religious. There never can be positive religious teaching where the principle of non-sectarianism rules. What is the result? The school deals with immature, childish minds, upon which silent facts and examples make deepest impression. It claims nearly all the time remaining to pupils outside of rest and recreation. It treats of land and sea, but not of Heaven; it speaks of statesmen and warriors, but not of God and Christ; it tells how to attain success in this world, but says nothing about the world beyond the grave. The pupil sees and listens, and insensibly forms the conclusion that religion is of minor importance. Religious indiffer-

ence becomes his creed; his manhood will be, as was his childhood in the school, estranged from God and the positive influences of religion. The brief and hurried lessons of the family fireside and the Sunday school will be of slight avail. At best, the time is too short for that most difficult of lessons, religion. The child is weary after the exacting drill of the schoolroom, and does not relish an extra task, of the necessity of which the teacher, in whom he confides most trustingly, has said nothing. The great mass of children receive no fireside lessons, and attend no Sunday school, and the great mass of the children of America are growing up without religion. Away with theories and dreams: let us read the facts. In ten thousand homes of the land the father hastens to his work at early dawn, before his children have risen from their slumbers, and at night an exhausted frame bids him seek repose, with scarcely time to kiss his little ones. The mother toils all day, that her children may eat and be clothed; it is mockery to ask her to be their teacher! What may we expect from the Sunday school? An hour in the week to study religion is as nothing, and during that hour the small number only will be present. The churches are open and the teachers are at hand, but the non-religious school has engrossed the attention and the energies of the child during five days of the week; he is unwilling to submit to the drudgery of a further hour's work on Sunday. Accidentally, it may be, and unintentionally, but, in fact, most certainly, the state school crowds out the Church.

The teaching of religion is not a function of the state; but the State should, for the sake of its people, and for its own sake, permit and facilitate the teaching of religion by the Church. This the State does not do; rather, it hinders and prevents the work of the Church. The children of the masses are learning no religion. The religion of thousands who profess some form of religion, is the merest veneering of mind and heart. Its doctrines are vague and chaotic notions as to what God is, and what our relations to Him are. Very often it is mere sentimentality, and its precepts are the decorous rulings of natural culture and natural prudence. This is not the religion that built up our Christian civilization in the past and that will maintain it in the future. This is not the religion that will subjugate passion and repress vice. It is not the religion that will guard the family and save society.

The mind a double-edged sword.

Let the State look to itself. The mind which it polishes is a two-edged sword — an instrument for evil as well as for good; it were fatal to polish it without the assurance that in all likelihood it shall become an instrument for good. I am not questioning how far we may lay at the door of the non-religious school the breaking up of Christian creeds, the growth of agnosticism and unbelief, the weakening of public and private morals, and the almost complete estrangement from church organizations of the poor and the working classes. But I do submit that these dreaded evils of our day should awaken us from our lethargy,

and stimulate us to bestow more than ordinary care upon the religious instruction of the children of the land, that they may have the strength to withstand the fierce temptations which await them.

Morals require a religious foundation.

Do not say that the state school teaches morals. Christians demand religion. From the principles of religion, morals derive power and vitality. Separated from a belief in God, and in the existence of the soul beyond the present life, morals are vague and weak commands which passion is not slow to scorn. What seem to be morals without religion are often but the blossomings of fortunate and kindly natures, or habits, which, fashioned upon Christian traditions, grow weak as the traditions become remote.

Religious instruction in connection with the state school.

To the American people—religious-minded and God-fearing as I know them to be—I put the question: Ought we not to have religious instruction in connection with the school? There are, I confess, serious difficulties in the way. But are we to be stopped by difficulties, when it is incumbent upon us to reach the goal?

Secularists and unbelievers will demand their rights. I concede their rights. I will not impose upon them my religion, which is Christianity. But let them not impose upon me and my fellow-Christians their religion, which is secularism. Secularism is a religion of its kind, and usually a very loud-spoken and intolerant religion. Non-sectarianism is not secularism, and, when non-sectarianism is

intended, the secularist sect must not claim for itself the field which it refuses to others. I am taking my stand upon our common American citizenship. The liberty I claim, that I grant.

Difficulties to be encountered.

I come to the chief difficulty. The American people at large are Christians; but they are divided among themselves. Not to speak of other differences, there is the vital and radical one between Catholicism and Protestantism of all forms. I am not arguing; I am stating facts. Well-meaning men propose as a remedy to teach a common Christianity in the schools. This will not do. In loyalty to their principles, Catholics cannot and will not accept a common Christianity. To Catholics, what does not bear on its face the stamp of Catholicity is Protestant in form and in implication, even if it be Catholic in substance. This being a settled fact, American Catholics will not, of course, impose Catholicism upon Protestant children, and, with similar fair-mindedness, American Protestants will not impose Protestantism upon Catholic children. A compromise becomes necessary. Is it not a thousand times better to make a compromise than to allow secularism to triumph and own the country?

I turn to all Americans — secularists as well as Christian believers — I address them in the name of American citizenship. We are a practical people, and when we find facts before us, whether we like or dislike them, we look at them with an eye to the general good. Now, it is manifest that dissatisfaction exists with the state school, because of its exclusion

of religion. This dissatisfaction, moreover, is founded on conscience, and will continue until the cause of it is removed.

Is not the fact that dissatisfaction exists sufficient for Americans to set to work earnestly, and with a good will, to remove the cause of it? The welfare of the country demands peace and harmony among citizens. Let us put an end to the constant murmurings and bitter recriminations with which our school war fills the land. Since we prize the advantages of our state school, let us enable all the children of the people to enjoy those advantages. Since there is such a public institution as the state school, supported by all the people, let us see that all may use it — let there be no taxation without representation in the enjoyment of the benefits of it.

Fairness required towards all citizens.

I invoke the spirit of American liberty and American institutions. Citizens of the Republic may differ diametrically in their views of policies and measures; some may deem the views of others to be utterly wrong. Still, is it not the duty of all to promote peace, and, as far as possible, to make concessions so that none be dissatisfied or disturbed in their rights of conscience? It matters not that one of the parties to a controversy comprises the majority of the voters of the State. The force of numbers may prevail in civil law: it is not always justice. Minorities have rights, and those rights the majority should recognize as speedily as may be consistent with the public weal. It is no honor to America that ten millions of

its people are forced by law to pay taxes for the support of schools to which their conscience does not give approval, and are, furthermore, compelled, by their zeal for the religious instruction of their children, to build schoolhouses of their own, and pay their own teachers. It is no honor for the fifty millions to profit by the taxes paid by the ten millions. The cry that the state schools are open to Catholics, if they silence their conscience, is not a defense that will hold before the bar of justice. This aspect of the case is the more serious when we consider that the ten millions are largely the poorer classes of the population, and that they are sincerely and loyally desiring to obtain the benefits of the state school, if only the obstacles be removed.

It is no honor to the American Republic that she, more than any other nation, be eager to keep religion away from schools. No nation goes in this direction so far as ours. It is a terrible experiment upon which we have entered; the very life of our civilization and of our country is at stake. I know not how to account for this condition of things. Neither the genius nor the history of the country gives countenance to it. The American people are naturally reverent and religious. Their laws and public observances breathe forth the perfume of religion. The American school, as it first reared its log walls amid the villages of New England, was religious through and through. The favor with which a non-religious school is now regarded is, I verily believe, due to the thoughtlessness of a moment, and will not last.

I solve the difficulty by submitting it to the calm judgment of the country. No question is insoluble to Americans, if truth and justice press it home to them. Other countries, whose civilization we do not despise, have found a solution. I instance England and Prussia. We are not inferior to those countries in practical legislation and in the spirit of peaceful compromise. Suggestions of mine must necessarily be crude in form, and local and temporary in application. I will, however, lay them before you. I would permeate the regular state school with the religion of the majority of the children of the land, be this religion as Protestant as Protestantism can be, and I would, as is done in England, pay for the secular instruction given in denominational schools according to results; that is, every pupil passing the examination before state officials, and in full accordance with the state program, would secure to his school the cost of the tuition of a pupil in the state school.[1] This is not paying for religious instruction, but for the secular instruction demanded by the state, and given to the pupil as thoroughly as he could have received it in the state school.

Plans of compromise.

[1] Payment for results in denominational schools was for many years the plan sanctioned by the state in Great Britain. The plan was lately superseded by another: that of granting directly to denominational schools from the public fund a portion of the expenses incurred in maintaining them, the remainder of the expenses being paid by the patrons of the school — the school being always subject to government inspection, and the teaching of religion being put outside the regular school hours.

Another plan: I would do as Protestants and Catholics in Poughkeepsie and other places in the United States have agreed to do, to the entire satisfaction of all citizens and the great advancement of educational interests. In Poughkeepsie the city school board rents the buildings formerly used as parish schools, and from the hour of 9 A. M. to that of 3 P. M. the school is in every respect a state school—teachers being engaged and paid by the board, teachers and pupils being examined, state books being used, the door being always open to superintendent and members of the board. There is simply the tacit understanding that so long as the teachers, Catholic in faith, pass their examinations and do their work as efficiently and as loyally as other teachers under the control of the board, they shall not be replaced by teachers of another faith. During school hours no religious instruction is given. Christian doctrine is taught outside the hours for which the buildings are leased to the board. The State pays not one cent for the religious instruction of the pupils. In the other schools, Protestant devotional exercises take place in fullest freedom before the usual school hour.[1]

[1] The plan which is here sketched is the so-called Irish plan. It has been in operation in Ireland, with excellent results, for over a half-century. It has, also, been in operation for several years in the Catholic schools of Nova Scotia. It has been introduced in not a few places in the United States, as a temporary and local adjustment of the difficulties of the school question, and, wherever it has been tried, no cause is found for complaint. The Jesuit Fathers seem to have been its first patrons in the United States. They had for a long time schools under this plan in Florissant, Missouri, and in

Do not tell me of difficulties of detail in the working out of either of my schemes. There are difficulties; but will not the result be ample compensation for the struggle to overcome them? Other schemes, more perfect in conception and more easy of application, will, perhaps, be presented later; meanwhile, let trial be made of those which I have submitted.

Allow me one word as a Catholic. I have sought to place on the precise line where it belongs the objection which Catholics have to the state school.

Catholics not opposed to education, or to state schools as agencies of education.

Is it fair, is it honest, to raise the cry that Catholics are opposed to education, to free schools, to the American school system? I lose patience with adversaries who seek to place us in this false position, so opposed to all our convictions and resolves. In presence of this vast and distinguished assembly, I protest with all the energy of my soul against the charge that the schools of the Nation have their enemies among Catholics. Not one stone of the wondrous edifice which Americans have reared in their devotion to education would Catholics remove or permit to be removed. They would fain add to its splendor and majesty by putting side by side religious and secular instruction, neither of them

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Conewago, Pennsylvania, and still have several schools under the same plan in New Mexico. This plan is sometimes called "the Poughkeepsie plan," having been in operation for a long time with great success in Poughkeepsie, New York; sometimes also "the Georgia plan" having been introduced on a rather extensive scale into the Catholic schools of Georgia through the influence of the late Cardinal Persico while he was Bishop of Savannah.

interfering with the other, each of them borrowing from the other aid and dignity. Do the schools of America fear contact with religion? Catholics demand the Christian state school. In so doing, they prove themselves truest friends of the school and of the state.[1]

[1] It must be confessed that the American people view with but little favor any measure to impart religious instruction in connection with state schools, and the problem of the moral and religious instruction of the masses of the people still remains to be faced.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND LIBERAL EDUCATION.

THE University of Notre Dame, in the state of Indiana, celebrated its golden jubilee on the eleventh day of June, 1895.

The jubilee was a memorable event in the history of the Church in America.

The extraordinary concourse of people that crowded the halls and the campus of the University of Notre Dame testified to the great influence which that institution exercises in the country, and to the strong interest which not only Catholics—clergy and laity—but also non-Catholics feel in its growth and prosperity.

The ceremonies of the jubilee brought before the eyes of the country the noble monument to education and religion that has been built up by the zeal and intelligence of the Fathers of the Holy Cross, and revealed in a special manner the greatness of mind and heart of the sainted pioneer of their order in America, the Very Reverend Edward Sorin.

The discourse at the jubilee mass was delivered by the Archbishop of St. Paul, who took as his theme "The Catholic Church and Liberal Education."

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND LIBERAL EDUCATION.

FATHER EDWARD SORIN! Meet and just is it that on this blessed morning thy name be the first word which my lips pronounce.

We celebrate the golden jubilee of Notre Dame. Notre Dame has lived its first half century. We are assembled to recall the memories of years that have passed, and to receive inspirations for years that are to come. But Notre Dame is Father Edward Sorin — the thought of his mind and the love of his heart. Into Notre Dame he poured all the riches of his great soul; in Notre Dame he externalized his whole self. To tell the story of Notre Dame is to tell the story of Father Edward Sorin.

Father Sorin! Thy immortal spirit we are sure returns from Heaven this morning to Notre Dame, to preside over the festivities of its golden jubilee. To thee, our salutation and our welcome.

There are jubilees of men and of institutions that have no meaning, save that they mark the rapid flight of years. They commemorate no high deeds of virtue or valor; they awaken no noble ambitions. Far different is the jubilee of Notre Dame.

The Notre Dame of to-day is well known—regal in its stately palaces, rich in its treasures of art and science, glorious in its brilliant array of studious

youths and illustrious masters. From this Notre Dame, I pray you, travel back in fancy to the Notre Dame of fifty years ago.

The work of Father Edward Sorin.

On the twenty-sixth day of November, in the year 1842, Father Sorin, weary and footsore from long and tedious journeyings, rested by the shore of St. Mary's Lake, and, surveying with anxious eye the limited acres of clearing and the dense forest beyond, marked out the home of the future Notre Dame. He had recently come from France. He knew but little of the language of the country; he was unfamiliar with the manners and the modes of life in America. As companions, he had a few Brothers of the Congregation of the Holy Cross, of which Congregation he himself was one of the earliest members. His store of wealth exceeded but little the sum of one thousand dollars. For further resources of men and money, he relied on a young and struggling religious order in France, on the charity of pioneer settlers in America, and on the blessing of a propitious Providence.

The Pottawattamie, the Miami and the Ottawa still roamed in savage freedom through the forests of Indiana and Michigan and over the prairies of Illinois. White people were few, dwelling in sparse colonies, battling, amid dire hardships, with untamed nature. The great cities of to-day — Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago — were infant villages. Railroads, telegraph lines — there were none. The western region of America, it was believed, was destined to grow,

but only by slow and gradual stages. None dreamed of the magical development which it was to see within the near future.

A young priest, on the shores of St. Mary's Lake, fifty years ago, planning to build up and maintain a school of high learning! Standing by his side, would you have put faith in his project? Would you not have called it an idle dream? Whence were to come money, pupils, masters? Who cared for a liberal education? What purpose, indeed, could it serve in this wild, untenanted region?

Little did the young priest himself then hope to see the Notre Dame which it was his blessed lot to gaze upon before the Supreme Judge called him to his reward. But he had faith in America and in the West; he had faith in the Catholic Church in America; he was profoundly convinced that, if the Country and Church were to be great and prosperous, schools must at once be built and equipped—the primary school for the children of the people, the college and the university for those whom talent and ambition might impel to larger intellectual development. And with the high-mindedness which clearly perceives the future and its needs, and the daring of heart which makes possible seemingly desperate impossibilities, his great soul gave being to Notre Dame.

Before the close of the year 1843 a modest edifice was under roof, and in it boys, sons of the Caucasian and of the Indian, were conjugating Latin verbs. A year later the new institution was honored by the Legislature of Indiana with a university

charter — a testimony of the greatness to which, from its very inception, it aspired. Year by year it grew in strength and fame, until it attained its present proportions.

Honor and praise where honor and praise are due! We render thanks to the great and good God, who inspired and blessed the enterprise of Father Sorin, and gave fruitfulness to a work which was begun in His name, and which had from its founder the mission to bring glory to God, by bringing intelligence and virtue to men.

We proclaim our gratitude to America, whose resources, energies, and liberality of spirit made possible the growth of Notre Dame. America provided the opportunities which Father Sorin and his co-laborers turned to profit. America, by her wondrous material evolution, stimulated the builders of Notre Dame to put forth in their enterprise all the forces of their minds and hearts. America, in the fulness of the freedom which she allows her sons, permitted the University of Notre Dame to enlarge its work and to expand its life to noblest and fairest form, without danger of opposition or repression.

America makes great enterprises possible.

As Catholics, we have reason to rejoice in the unparalleled development of the Holy Church and in the growth of the numberless institutions that she has founded. Let us be ever ready to proclaim our deep indebtedness to America, under whose protecting flag alone such development could have taken place. We thank thee, America, for all thy favors, and

chiefly for thy sweet liberties, which never check but ever encourage native effort and growth in men and institutions! The Catholic Church grows rapidly in America, because America allows her to put forth all her energies, and to be all that she professes herself capable of being.

The founders of Notre Dame profited of their opportunities.

We praise Father Sorin and his associates for their sagacity in perceiving and quickness in profiting of opportunities, for the tireless and ceaseless energy of their endeavors and the practical wisdom of their counsels. In their own sphere of labor, they kept pace with the onward march of the country; and to say this of men in America is greatest praise. God is willing to bless the good projects of all His children. America affords the same opportunities to all her citizens. But not all Catholics in America, whether priests or laymen, have availed themselves of opportunities as did Father Sorin and his co-laborers. Honor and praise to the makers of Notre Dame! They were brave and wise men; they merited success and they attained it. Notre Dame deserves its jubilee, and its jubilee is fraught with precious lessons.

Father Sorin's work repeats history.

Father Sorin's work repeats history. As we contemplate this noble priest, building up an institution of high learning in the early days of the Far West, we are reminded of deeds of other times and of other regions. The scene at St. Mary's Lake recalls the monks of Ireland, France and Italy, in the

sixth and seventh centuries, dispensing the lore of Rome and Greece to peoples just emerging from barbarism, and training them, in the first stages of material progress, to prize, above wealth of earth and comfort of body, the treasures and the refinements of the higher life of the soul. The scene at St. Mary's Lake conjures up from the past a memorable event in American history—the establishment of Harvard University. The Puritan Pilgrims—poor, unable to wrest more than the scantiest livelihood from the stony plains of New England—did not allow a quarter of a century to pass from the day of their landing on Plymouth Rock before seeking to secure for their children the intellectual privileges of the Cambridge and the Oxford of their older English homes.

The monks of Europe, the Pilgrims of New England, the founders of Notre Dame read well the needs of country and of religion. They understood the vital importance of liberal education, and took measures to secure it in the very infancy of the social organism. Their wisdom and their foresight are above all praise. The conditions in which they lived would naturally tend to confine their efforts to what is of immediate use or necessity. They, however, looked far into the future; they had faith in the future, and they were ready to work for remote results. Their penetrating minds possessed that keen insight which enabled them to understand that a liberal education is the great power in the upbuilding of men and of nations.

I am not sure that, even to-day, all Americans estimate at its true value a liberal education.

Importance of liberal education.

Give us, some say, an education which is immediately serviceable, which prepares our youths directly for business or for the professions, which brings pecuniary results without delay. Reading, writing, arithmetic, must, of course, be taught; but these the common school can give. If to this training anything is to be added, let it be the technics of the trade or of the profession in which our sons are to be engaged. But take away from us — away from this busy, practical world of ours — the college and the university, with programmes that tell of ancient languages, of refinements of literature, of theories of philosophy, of ornamental arts and sciences. What need have we of these, and of all such things comprised under the term "liberal education"?

Americans are a practical people, but at times they are too practical for their true ulterior good, or even for the immediate purposes which they have in view. The fault is not without its excuse. The newness of the country, and the feverish struggle which this newness imposes, hitherto made severe demands upon brain and hand, and allowed but little leisure for aims and aspirations that reached beyond the struggle of the day. Time will of itself bring the remedy; but we who recognize the defect should meanwhile strive to hasten the correction.

The self-made men of America, who, with the merest elementary education, have risen to prominence

and proved themselves valued citizens and statesmen, are often summoned as witnesses against a liberal education. The reply is at hand. These are men of exceptional natural talent, who, unaided, have attained to the culture and power that ordinarily come from education; but even their elevation of mind would often have been much greater had their rich natures received the kindly aid of well-directed art.

The development of mind for mind's sake.

The chief thing in man, and in all the works of man, is mind. It is by mind that man is primarily constituted in the image and the likeness of God; it is by mind that he rules the material universe, and rises in his self-aggrandizement even to the skies.

In the upbuilding of man and of humanity, give to mind growth and grandeur, and man will be great. Mind for mind's own sake is the object of a liberal education. The branches of knowledge with which this education deals, and the methods which it employs, are chosen with a view to develop and enrich the mind independently, for the time being, of all considerations of the mere useful, or of the needs of special callings in practical life. The very word "liberal" indicates the scope of the studies pursued in the search after a liberal education.

Truth — that which is, God and the works of His creative power, and the manifestations of His supreme beauty and majesty; truth, seen in its own splendor and desired for its own loveliness — is the life and the light of the human mind. Mind, nurtured

upon truth, converting truth into its own fibre, grows and expands, takes unto itself the largeness, the sweetness, the elevation of truth, and makes man live his highest and noblest life.

With a liberal education a man is a power in whatever work he may employ his energies. A liberal education must not propose the useful as its sole and immediate aim. And yet the useful is attained, and even in a far larger measure than if it had been sought directly for its own sake. For the mind has grown in strength and versatility. Power has been gained; and this power, in whatever direction you turn it, will produce the desired results with ease and speed.[1]

The power of educated mind.

However it may be employed, an educated mind will never be limited in its vision or its grasp to the specific work of a trade or a profession. The educated man will never be onesided and narrow; he will never be fettered by prejudices or disposed to take partial views. The labor, or the instrument of labor, through which an educated mind energizes, may be rude and unattractive; but the mind always retains its own charm, and communicates this charm to its surroundings. An educated mind means elevation of ideals and purposes, and refinement of thought and manner. The studies which ordinarily form the subject-matter of a liberal education are well named "the humanities."

[1] Vide Cardinal Newman, "Lectures on University Subjects."—Lect. IX.

It is the educated mind that in all ages has advanced mankind, lifting it above sordid aims, bringing to it pure and ennobling enjoyment, prompting its highest ambitions by holding before it exalted ideals. The life of man is not material bread; the glory of man is not stones wrought into palatial forms. Ideas are the life and the glory of man — scintillations from the throne of the Infinite, which are caught up by elevated minds and by them diffused among the masses of men. It is not expected that the masses will receive a liberal education, but even they enjoy, in a hundred ways, the blessings which proceed from the liberal education of the few.

In this land of equal rights and equal freedom, aristocracies of blood or wealth are not to be desired or encouraged. But however democratic be her political institutions and social conditions, America, and, with her, all mankind will gladly bow in obeisance to the aristocracy of mind and heart — the aristocracy of learning and virtue.

The Catholic Church, the friend and patron of liberal education.

In the person of such men as Father Sorin and his co-laborers, the Catholic Church comes forward as the friend and the patron of liberal education. The most sacred principles of the Catholic Church impel her to ally herself with liberal education. She is the Church of the living God, having the mission to make Him known to men. The knowledge of truth is the knowledge of God. Hence it is that it must necessarily be the wish of the Church that men seek for truth in all directions, from all sources,

and through all instrumentalities. Her first charge is, indeed, revealed truth; but God is seen in natural no less than in revealed truth. In her loyalty to God, she follows wherever His footprints are found, and delights in bringing men to Him wherever He is.

The Catholic Church is the Church of the soul. In her eyes the soul is, of all created things, the best, the most precious. Whatever conduces to the growth of the soul is valued by the Church. Moreover, the soul that is capable of higher flights is better fitted to understand and appreciate the Church's own supernatural teachings. The Church is, indeed, the Church of all the children of men. For the simple and ignorant she has the tender whisperings of a mother's love; to them she breaks gently the Bread of Life, feeding them in measures proportioned to their capacity. But as brighter and more elevated minds open to her teachings, she bestows her truths in more generous profusion, and rejoices in the deification of soul that results from the deeper comprehension of divine faith. The Catholic Church yearns for the educated listener; to him she can more readily unfold her intellectual treasures. An age of intellectual light is the age in which the Church is most at home, and in which she is best understood.

The Catholic Church is the church of humanity. Humanity she loves as God loves it. All that ennobles and elevates humanity she blesses and fosters. What has been her history during these nineteen hundred years but the history of sympathy with

men and of labor for the well-being of their souls and their bodies? Did she not always lead in whatever made for progress and civilization? Was not the civilization of Europe her work? Education, which is so potent a factor in the elevation of humanity, has been in all ages certain of the choicest blessings of the Church.

The Church, the founder of universities.

Throughout her whole history, the Catholic Church has ever made liberal education the object of her most tender solicitude. Even while cruelly persecuted by Roman emperors, she opened a school of high philosophy in Alexandria, where an Origen, a Clement, a Catherine allowed no intellectual precedence to the most learned masters of the academies of reigning paganism. When days of peace and prosperity dawned, she built schools by the side of her monasteries and her basilicas. Monte Casino spread its light over Italy; Lerins gathered scholars from Gaul and Germany; under Patrick's magic touch, Ireland became the isle of schools and of scholars. Shall I mention the illustrious universities of medieval Europe! O Church Catholic, thou art surely the mother, the queen of liberal learning! Salerno, Padua and Bologna; Paris, Montpelier and Salamanca; Louvain, Leipsic, Fribourg and Tübingen; Oxford, Cambridge and Glasgow — I am naming great schools, rich founts of European learning and civilization, the glories of the Middle Ages — I am counting pearls which history gratefully places in thy chaplet of honor. They were thy

schools, often founded, always blessed, by thy popes and bishops.

In America the State builds schools, colleges, and universities, and is unstinted in its expenditure for their support. The question is asked: Why does not the Church leave the work of education to the State, which commands for the purpose resources that the Church cannot hope to possess? This question calls for a brief answer.

I have, assuredly, no quarrel with the educational work of the State. In this matter, as in so many others, I am proud of my country. America understands the importance of education; she is most generous in founding and endowing schools, colleges and universities. I praise America for her love of education and for the care with which she fosters it.

State schools and colleges.

The schools and colleges of the State, however, give no place to religion in their programmes; and my ideal school is that in which secular knowledge and religious truth blend together in inseparable union. And yet I do not condemn the State. In view of all the circumstances of the country, in view of public opinion to-day, what can the State do but leave out the teaching of religion from its course of instruction, and, in justice to all the people, strive to render its schools as unsectarian as schools can be? The State is doing all that the conditions of the country allow. Let us be fair to the State, praising it for the good which it does, and excusing it for the defects which it cannot avoid. It is our duty to

ourselves and to our children to make up by extraordinary efforts in other ways for the defects which at the present time are inseparable from the schools or colleges of the State. For Catholics to anathematize the State on account of its educational work would be wrong and foolish. Would you have the State, I ask, close its schools and colleges because it cannot to-day do otherwise than make them unsectarian? How, then, could the masses receive an education? How could even a large number of the children of Catholics be educated? Catholics are far from having either school buildings to accommodate all their children, or the masters to teach them. And, as the facts are such, will you censure children of Catholics who attend state institutions, and in anger withdraw from them all spiritual care? By so doing, you may say, the Church would show her predilection for the pupils of Catholic institutions, and aid in building up those institutions. But, I reply, will you dare neglect unto death the two-thirds of your children, in order to bestow special affection upon one-third?

What I would do is this: I would work with redoubled energy to make up for the necessary exclusion of religion from the programmes of state institutions, by doing all in my power to bring the Catholic pupils of those institutions under the influences of religious teaching; and, at the same time, I would work, as far as my abilities permit, to build up — but not in angry protest against the state school — the Christian school and the Christian college.

The Christian school and the Christian college! Thrice blessed are the children who are enrolled as their pupils, whose daily mental nutriment is secular and religious knowledge combined!

In the Christian school, secular knowledge finds in its union with religious truth its own completion. All knowledge is deficient which does not lead men back to God, the Author of all being; that does not show how all things fit into the general workings of a Supreme Providence. God is ever present in the world—by His invisible government, by the Incarnation of the Word, by the Church, which continues the Incarnation. At every point human society touches upon the supernatural. If God, Christ and the Church be taken away from the school, science and art, then history and literature are wrenched from their true relations, and only partial and truncated studies of them are possible.

Christian schools and colleges.

In the Christian school the youth receives an education of mind and heart that teaches him all his duties, and fits him for all the purposes of his existence. In the Christian school the teaching of religion goes hand in hand with the teaching of secular knowledge. There the dogmas and precepts of faith are a daily lesson, and the practice of religious duty a daily exercise.

So important is religion in the formation of character, in the cultivation of morals, in the preparation for the life of eternity, that, when possible, it ought to be taught as a daily lesson, and with all

the force and diligence which the most skilled masters possess. It ought to be taught so as to be indissolubly connected with other affairs of life, and be sunk so deeply into the souls of pupils as to be made part of their very nature. Religion is no accident in man's career; it is no veneering of his manners; it is no secondary matter in his life. It is all-essential as his motive power of action and as the determining agency of his whole existence, and consequently it must be considered the vital element in his education. Unless religious teaching be provided in the school and college, where the youth spends the greatest part of his working time, there is great danger that this teaching be not sufficient, and that its effects be not enduring. The Catholic school and the Catholic college have their own place and their own work in America. They are the ideal homes of learning, and Catholics should have them wherever it is possible.

The mission of Catholic Colleges.

From schools and colleges where religion is blended with secular learning, we are led to expect ideal results. Without such results Catholic schools and colleges can give to the country no justification for their existence. I wish to speak especially of the mission of Catholic higher schools or colleges. This mission, I assume, is to provide leaders to the Catholic laity.

The laity are the Church as the world sees it. They are the first who must meet attacks upon the Church, and the first who must move in her defense.

It is through the laity that the influence of the Church is brought to bear upon the world, and it is through them and their deeds that the power and the usefulness of this influence are estimated. The clergy have their lines of duty in the formation and the direction of the laity; but for the everyday battle of life the clergy are not, and cannot be, in the forefront.

Does the Church wish to prove to America her divine mission? Then let the Catholic laity be pre-eminent by their intelligence and virtue. No people so much as the American people demand results, and base their judgment on results. They give literal application to the gospel rule: "By their fruits ye shall know them." Arguments in favor of the Church, drawn from the story of the past, fall with little effect upon the ears of Americans. The argument to which they readily consent to listen is the present manner of life of Catholics.

What magnificent opportunities are now offered to the Catholic laity! It is a period of disintegration of doctrine and of weakening of morals; it is a period of great social changes, which disturb long-established principles and awaken angry passions. Thoughtful men are casting around for means to preserve society. Such means the Catholic Church possesses in the truths and graces given to her in rich abundance by her Divine Founder; and if Catholics are true to their duty, the Church will be hailed as the savior of men and of society. But for this they must live a true Catholic life, and by

their fruits give public evidence of the divine power of their faith.

The leaders of the Catholic laity.

In the fulfillment of their mission, the chief need of the Catholic laity is leaders — men of élite, well-trained in faith and morals, resolute and reliable, model men, who will form after their own character the mass of their fellow-Catholics, and will be the representatives of the Church before the country in all movements making for truth and moral goodness. Model men, assuredly, must they be who are to be the standard bearers of the armies of the Church. They must be second to none in the power and the accomplishments of a superior education. Authority and influence, such as nothing else supplies, issue forth from a rich and well-developed mind. Wherever intelligence is at work, in literature, in scientific inquiry, in the management of large enterprises, in statesmanship, Catholic leaders must occupy distinguished places. In private life they must be stainless and above reproach, distinguished by their sobriety, their pure morals, their probity in dealing with others — the most honest and the most honorable of men; in public life they must be the best of citizens, marked by unswerving loyalty to public duty, by generous and unselfish love of country and its institutions — the most faithful, the most ardent of Americans.

Whence will come Catholics fit to be models and leaders? I answer, from Catholic colleges and universities. If they do not produce such Catholics,

and in large numbers, our Catholic colleges and universities will have failed in their work.

How these leaders are to be educated.

The mission which awaits the pupils of Catholic colleges indicates the lines upon which they should be educated. Their intellectual training should be the best the country can afford. We do them an injustice, as we do country and Church an injustice, if we send them out into the world a whit inferior in intellectual equipment to pupils from state or other non-Catholic institutions. We have no right to stamp with the seal of religion an inferior instruction, and expect it to pass current among Catholics. And here let me repeat what I have already said on the subject of liberal education. The useful cannot be neglected in the programme of our Catholic institutions. But the importance assigned to it must not be such as to frustrate the main purpose of education —the development of mind for mind's own sake. Without this, colleges serve only as places of apprenticeship to trades or professions, and not as schools for the formation of superior men.

In Catholic colleges there must be such dogmatic teaching as not only enunciates principles, but sets forth all the objections raised against them, and furnishes answers to these objections. From all sides fierce attacks are to-day made upon the Christian faith. It is not when our soldiers are already in the field that they should become aware of those attacks: it is while they are arming for the strife, so that when the conflict does come they may

be found prepared. Colleges that confine their religious teaching to the catechism, occasional sermons, the reading of pious legends, are not preparing soldiers for the Church's battles. It is not sure that the pupils of such colleges will even hold fast throughout life to the faith of their holy baptism. In every Catholic college there should be a thorough course of Christian apologetics.

The training in Catholic life given in our colleges should aim at endowing the pupils with a robust, manly piety, such as alone suits strong minds, and is likely to keep its hold on the men of our time and of our country. Too often we rear youths in religious hothouses, nourishing them overmuch on the accidents and luxuries of religion, which they mistake for the essentials, and which they afterwards are tempted to lay aside together with all religious practices. Form in them the bone and the sinew and the strong, living flesh of religion. The piety made of such stuff will last, and the graduates of our colleges will never cease through life to be practical Catholics.

In morals, the highest ideals of private and civic duty must be continuously held up before the pupils. There should be no question of the minimum of Christian duty — the mere avoidance of grievous sin. In a college we are not at work as in the confessional — to temper the law to the weak and the ignorant, and to open to as many as possible the gates of divine mercy. We are forming soldiers and leaders; the highest deeds of valor must be

recounted to them, and their best efforts stimulated.

Praise of Notre Dame.

Notre Dame! When I tell the conditions in which the youths of Catholic colleges are to be educated, I tell thy works and thy methods. Nobly hast thou done during the half century which has come to a close. The Catholic Church of America praises and thanks thee on this day of thy jubilee. More nobly yet wilt thou do in the half century which is to come. Fifty years hence another jubilee of thine will be celebrated; another speaker will rehearse thy deeds. I do not believe that he who will take my place in thy chapel-pulpit will tell of greater virtues than those of which I speak, when I recall the lives of thy founder and thy early masters. Well will it be for thee if their heroic traits reappear in their successors. But the preacher of thy future jubilee will tell of greater feats and greater triumphs in the service of Church and Country, for greater will have been thy opportunities and greater thy power.

The future! The twentieth century! America during the twentieth century! The Catholic Church in America during the twentieth century!

The twentieth century! It stands out on history's pages unparalleled for its agitations of mighty intellectual problems. Intellectual life grows more intense; no limitations of knowledge are recognized. The human mind, in the success of its investigations into the mysteries of nature, becomes intoxicated with the belief in its absolute self-sufficiency, and

bids reckless defiance to all existing intellectual authorities, even to Christ and to His Church. The defender of Christ is compelled to follow his adversary through all the domains of natural knowledge, to show him that there is no argument against supernatural truth. He must follow his adversary even to the farthest frontiers of nature, to prove that there is a beyond, of which revelation brings to us fuller tidings. Humanity is in throes to give birth to new forms of social and political life. "All things must be made new!" is the cry everywhere heard. Revolutions are upon us, in which, if wisdom and righteousness do not prevail, chaos and death will hold sovereign sway.

America in the twentieth century! Those mighty social problems which press upon the world will be agitated with special intensity, and will move towards a solution with special rapidity in our own country. In America, more than elsewhere, men are impatient for results, and enter more fearlessly upon changes.

The Catholic Church in America during the twentieth century! O Church of ages and of nations, was there ever opened before thee an opportunity so glorious, so worthy of thy power and majesty? Be [illegible] to reign queen of truth! Wherever souls after truth yearn, be thou their guide. [illegible] with the light and crowning their progress with thy supernatural revelation. Be thou to reign queen of humanity! Proclaim,

with voice that none can fail to hear, those supreme principles of moral virtue, of social order and liberty, of rights and duties of men, which Christ's Gospel taught thee. Proclaim them with the high authority of thy mission, and win to them the obedience of men by thy Christlike zeal and Christlike love. Reign in knowledge and in grace; reign to the glory of thy Christ, and the twentieth century will serve Him with all the energy of its intellect and all the aspirations of its heart. The greatest of centuries will be the most loyal to Christ; and, as before, Christ will reign in glory over the world — "Jesus Christ yesterday, to-day, and the same forever."

The glory to be the soldiers of the Church, in America, during the twentieth century! Blessed are the men to whom God reserves this destiny! Blessed are the homes of learning and of religion, whose mission it is to form the soldiers of the new century!

Notre Dame, I hail thee this morning! I hail thy future work and thy future triumphs. Gird thyself well; put forth all thy energies; be the peer of the noblest. During the coming great century many thousands of names will be inscribed on honor's roll as the worthiest sons of Country and of Church; highest among them be the names of pupils of Notre Dame.

INTEMPERANCE AND LAW.

THE discourse on "Intemperance and Law" was delivered in Buffalo, N. Y., on March 10, 1884, under the auspices of The Citizens' Reform Association.

The Citizens' Reform Association, of Buffalo, had for its object to restrain the liquor traffic by enforcing laws already existing—such as the laws closing saloons on Sundays and forbidding the sale of intoxicants to minors and habitual drunkards—and to promote the passage of new restrictive measures, especially of a law to exact high license fees from liquor dealers.

At the time when this discourse was delivered the liquor traffic in America seemed to have reached the height of its power. The merely nominal license fee, usually not exceeding fifty or one hundred dollars, had resulted in the enormous expansion of the traffic; and the multiplication of saloons means the multiplication of centres of temptation for the improvident toiler and of centres of power for the unscrupulous politician. Thinking men took alarm at the danger which menaced the country, and inaugurated a crusade against the liquor traffic. Their efforts met with a large meed of success. Public opinion was aroused, a universal reaction against

liquor domination set in, and high-license laws were enacted, giving permanency to the work of temperance reform.

While, however, the power of the liquor traffic has been curbed and its expansion restrained, while temptations for bread winners have been considerably restricted, and politics largely purified of the demoralizing influence of the saloon, no one can study the current statistics of intemperance without realizing the pressing need of further reform. Much yet remains to be done. When temperance will be recognized as a civic virtue, and drunkenness regarded as a breach not only of public decency but of the moral law — as heinous as any other violation of the decalogue — when legislative measures, wisely enacted and honestly enforced, will supplement the methods of private organization, then and then only may the philanthropic zeal of temperance workers rest from its labors.

INTEMPERANCE AND LAW.

As I rise to address you upon the subject of Intemperance and Law, I am deeply impressed with the solemn responsibilities of the hour, and I am painfully conscious of my inability to command befitting words. I stand in the presence of the law-making power of the land. For in this country of manhood rights, the supreme rulers and legislators are not they who are seated in federal, state or municipal council halls; but they who, from time to time, gather at the voting booth and inscribe upon their ballots the names of spokesmen and representatives to do their bidding in high places. The freeman citizen is in America a monarch; a monarch's authority belongs to him, and the weight of a monarch's duty rests upon his conscience. I am here to plead for laws to restrict the evil of intemperance. I am proxy for numberless fellow-beings groaning in pitiful agony amid the toils of alcohol, whose souls are sickening unto death from its fatal poison — for weak woman and innocent child, the victims of the brutal cruelties of intemperate husbands and fathers — for the Commonwealth, polluted and menaced with disruption — for religion, across whose pathway to the hearts of men intemperance interposes impassable barriers. Would that I could plead as my cause

deserves! Would that I could move my hearers to oppose, with wrath and indignation, all the strong forces at their command to this implacable enemy of all the joys and all the hopes which a good God intended to be the inheritance of His children!

It is usual to charge the temperance lecturer with exaggeration. It is with difficulty that men believe him when he lays bare before them the dreadful ravages of intemperance. The fact does not surprise me. Few have thoughtfully lifted the veil which the demon of alcohol has, with artful cunning, drawn over his wreckage; few have peered with searching eye into the fathomless depths of misery and sin which open beneath the feet of the countless victims of intemperance.

Intemperance a dreadful evil.

I will repeat for you statements of men whose names and positions are sufficient guarantee that their words were carefully weighed before they were spoken. The distinguished premier of England, the Hon. William E. Gladstone, says that intemperance inflicts more injury upon the world than "war, famine, and pestilence combined."[1] The Protestant Archbishop

[1] "I was myself sitting in the House of Commons, and felt a thrill pass through me, and I saw a thrill pass through the House when, on March 5, 1880, he used the words: 'It has been said that greater calamities — greater because more continuous — have been inflicted on mankind by drink than by the three great historic scourges of war, famine, and pestilence combined.' Mr. Gladstone prefaced that sentence by the words: 'It is said.' Who said it? I will tell you. It was a man who knew what public houses were. It was a man who had owned public houses. It was a man who said that the struggle against drink was part of the struggle between heaven

of Canterbury writes: "Intemperance is a dreadful evil, eating out the very heart of society, destroying domestic life among our working classes, and, perhaps, doing more harm than any other cause that could be named in this age. It is the prolific source of misery, poverty, and crime." In a pastoral letter the Catholic bishops of Ireland say: "To drunkenness we may refer, as to their baneful cause, almost all the crimes by which the country is disgraced, and much of the poverty from which it suffers. Drunkenness has wrecked more homes, once happy, than ever fell beneath the crowbar brigade in the worst days of eviction; it has filled more graves and made more widows and orphans than did the famine; it has broken more hearts, blighted more hopes, and rent asunder family ties more recklessly than the enforced exile to which their misery has condemned emigrants." Governor Gaston, of Massachusetts, in an official message to the legislature, states: "Intemperance has been the most prolific source of poverty, wretchedness, and crime. It has filled the State and the country with its destructive influences, and its progress everywhere heralds only misfortune, misery, and degradation." Judge Noah Davis, of the Supreme Court of New York, writes: "Among all causes of crime intemperance stands out the unapproachable chief."

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and hell. It was the brewer and Member of Parliament, Mr. C. Buxton. But the Prime Minister adopted those words; he made those words his own, for he added: 'That is true for us, and it is the measure of our discredit and disgrace.'"—Archdeacon Farrar's discourse, delivered in Leeds, Oct. 29, 1883.

Intemperance in the United States.

Over this fair and fertile land of America the intemperate are, to-day, scattered in legions that no eye can number. Take, as an index, the reports of the police courts of our cities. In San Francisco, in one year, the total arrests were 25,669, of which 19,500 were for drunkenness, or for disorderly conduct in connection with drunkenness. In Boston, the total number of sentences passed by the courts from September, 1879, to September, 1880, were 16,897; of those 12,227 were for various grades of drunkenness. In New York, the total number of arrests for a year was 71,669; for intoxication and disorderly conduct 48,191. In Philadelphia, for 1881, there were 44,097 arrests — for drunkenness and disorderly conduct 27,229. In Brooklyn, the arrests for the same year were 28,882, of which 14,089 were reported as "drunk and disorderly." In Buffalo, the arrests made during the year 1883 were 9,349; the arrests for drunkenness, disorderly conduct and violation of liquor laws, being 4,769, and two-thirds of the other arrests, as your chief of police declares, having, as their remote cause, drunkenness.[1] And much of the intemperance of the country, it is well known, never becomes public, or, if it does, is never brought before the courts. The poor man it is, whose record is usually made a matter of court proceedings; but the poor man, we must remember, is by no means the only slave of drink.

[1] Those statistics are taken from the official reports of the chiefs of police of the various cities referred to.

The number of saloons and the quantity of drink consumed tell also a mournful story. In 1881 there were, according to government figures, in the United States, 185,769 liquor dealers—one dealer to every 270 persons in the entire population. The number, of course, is now much higher, and, if we would be correct, we should add the many unlicensed rum holes, of which no cognizance is taken in official returns. The proportion of saloons to the population in cities is especially worthy of note. In Boston there is one licensed saloon to 150 persons; in Chicago, one to 140; in New York, one to 135; in Buffalo and Albany, one to 100. In this enumeration we do not take the unlicensed saloons into account. Deducting from the population the children and the many women and men who do not use alcoholic beverages, or who do not obtain them from saloons, we find the average patronage of a saloon in a city to be thirty or thirty-five persons. These, manifestly, consume intoxicants to excess; the saloon business could not thrive as it does were its patrons to confine themselves within limits of moderation. It is, therefore, no exaggeration to say that throughout the United States 6,000,000 of the population frequent saloons, and indulge immoderately in alcoholic drink. Again, the commissioner of internal revenue reported for the year 1881, as the product of distillation in the country, 117,728,150 gallons—over two and one-third gallons to every person in the population. The beer-brewers' congress, held in Chicago, in 1882, reported 13,347,110

barrels of beer manufactured the previous fiscal year, or 413,760,410 gallons — over eight gallons to every person in the population. Nor is this all. There are yet to be taken into account the large quantities of imported spirits and wines, the native wines, and the almost limitless supply of whisky and beer upon which no revenue is collected. All allowances being made for the licit use of alcoholic drinks, so extraordinary is the consumption of them that of itself it affords an unquestioned proof of the great prevalence of intemperance in America.

The annual drink bill in the United States, estimated upon no uncertain data, is to-day but little, if anything, under the enormous sum of $1,000,000,000. The economic view of intemperance is the lowest that can be taken of the question. Yet, how much it involves for the country! The entire sum raised by taxes of all kinds — national, state, county, city, town and school district—is not more than $700,000,000. If all the Church property in the United States were destroyed by fire, less than six months' abstinence from drink would replace it. The *London Economist* estimates the cost of all the great wars of the world for twenty-five years, from 1852 to 1877, including the Franco-German war, and our own civil war, at $12,000,000,000. The cost of intoxicants in the United States for the same period was at least $15,000,000,000.

This money is not spent for a necessary, or even a useful article of human diet. Liquor, even in its most innocuous use, is but a luxury; and, when taken

in more than moderate quantities, it becomes a slow but sure poison. There is no reproductiveness in the expenditure which it entails; no beneficial work is accomplished by the outlay. The vast sums spent for liquor are as if thrown into the sea. Better far that the sea did engulf them; their results would not remain in crime and degradation. The cities, of course, surpass the rural districts in their contributions to the liquor fund. On an average, fifteen dollars each day pass into the till of every saloon in the land. The drink bill of New York alone for one year is $60,000,000, and other cities are proportionately lavish in their expenditure. The 1,750 saloons of Buffalo absorb annually $9,000,000.

This is the direct cost of alcohol. Not less is the indirect cost—the loss to the labor-market from idleness and waste of time, the loss from the mischief and burdens which intemperance brings upon society.

Intemperance the source of pauperism.

The mystery of pauperism in America is solved. No country on the globe is so rich as ours in resources; nowhere else are toil and talent so liberally rewarded. In America there should be no poverty, except from unforeseen accidents. Yet the plague of pauperism has broken out in our cities; waifs and vagrants line our streets and highways; in all directions eleemosynary institutions rear their massive piles. Economists are alarmed. The saloon is the prime source of all this pauperism and of all its attendant social evils. Thither the laborer and the mechanic bring their hard-earned dollars, only to

find themselves penniless when demand for work slackens. There, fortunes are wrecked, the ruin of which precipitates embezzlements and fraudulent bankruptcies. There, energy is paralyzed and idleness is consecrated. There, men toss off their money to purchase shame, while their wives and children at home cry for bread; and, when the wretches have been killed by the poisonous draughts, the doors of the county poorhouse, or of the orphan asylum must open to save their families from the biting blast of winter and the cruel pangs of hunger.

Some months ago Bishop Hendricken, of Providence, appealing for charity in favor of the hundreds of inmates of his orphan asylums, was not afraid to say that "in the far greater number of cases, those helpless children are dependent upon alms because saloons murdered their parents." A similar verdict will be rendered by those who examine into the sources of all forms of poverty in America. Five-sixths of the poverty in this country is caused by intemperance. All discussions of social reform are mere idle babble, so long as alcohol retains its present sovereignty, and despotically exacts in tribute the life-blood of industry.[1]

[1] "I have looked into a thousand homes of the working people of Europe; I do not know how many in this country. I have tried to find the best and the worst; and while, as I say, I am aware that the worst exists, and as bad as under any system or as bad as in any age, I have never had to look beyond the inmates to find the cause; and in every case, *so far as my own observation goes*, drunkenness was at the bottom of the misery, and not the industrial system or the industrial conditions surrounding the men and their families." United States Commissioner Carroll D. Wright, in an address on

The strength and the life of the race are departing, melting beneath the fiery curse of intemperance.

Intemperance destroys health and life.

Indulgence in intoxicants means for its victim a diseased and enfeebled body. Alcohol steadily undermines health, and leads step by step to delirium and to death; meanwhile, in the human body, saturated with alcohol, all other maladies known to the physician find congenial ground. Insurance companies are unwilling to take risks on the immoderate drinker, their reports showing that even the moderate consumer of alcohol is, in probabilities of a long life, inferior to the abstainer. A hundred thousand drunkards sink annually into early and dishonored graves, and at the demon's call a hundred thousand newly-enslaved victims move forward to fill their places. Accidents caused by drink, that maim and kill, are the daily burthen of the newspaper. Where the drink-tide rises highest, there is the high-water mark of suicide. Drink replenishes the morgues.

"The Relation of the Modern System of Industry to Intellectual Development (1895)."

"'The destruction of the poor is their poverty,' and the present licensing system is a chief cause of the present-time poverty, debasement, and weakness of the poor." John Burns, M. P., and 139 other British labor leaders in an address supporting the Veto Bill in 1893.

"If I could, I would inaugurate a strike that would drive the liquor traffic from the face of the earth." P. M. Arthur, Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, in a speech at Cleveland, Ohio, March 28, 1885.

"The liquor traffic is responsible for nine-tenths of the misery among the working classes, and the abolition of that traffic would be the greatest blessing which could come to them." T. V. Powderly, Ex-General Master Workman of the Knights of Labor.

It forms a long chapter in the history of insane asylums. Its curse passes along the line of posterity to children even of the second and third generations, who are born into the world idiotic in mind, crippled in body, the fatal craving for alcohol ingrained in their very nature. God's avenging hand lies heavy upon the people that stifle reason in brutal enjoyment.

Intemperance is the prolific parent of vice and crime.

It inflames the passions and appetites; it breaks down the barriers of decency and self-respect, and brings chaos upon the whole moral life. It is the feeder of immorality, theft, rapine, murder. It suggests to the mind the thought of crime; it gives the animal excitement needful for deeds of violence; it silences conscience when the deed has been done. Intemperance nurtures hideous, brutalizing vice. Crimes, defying Heaven in their atrocity, are inspired by its loathsome fumes. The crime due to alcohol, which comes before courts and receives punishment in jails and penitentiaries, gives but a faint idea of the terrible evils of intemperance.

Intemperance begets vice and crime.

In an article prepared by Mr. A. S. Fiske for the report of the United States Commissioner of Education, 1871, on crime in New England, we find it stated, as an undeniable fact, that "from 80 to 90 per cent. of our criminals connect their course of crime with intemperance." A committee report in the Dominion House of Commons, in 1875, says: "We

find, on examining the reports of the prison inspectors for the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, that out of 28,289 commitments to the jail for the three previous years, 21,236 were committed either for drunkenness or for crimes perpetrated under the influence of drink." The Boston Bureau of Statistics of Labor lately proposed to examine accurately the effects of intemperance upon crime. Committees were appointed to take up every sentence in the courts of Suffolk county, and to trace each case of crime back to its inception, noting carefully all the circumstances connected with it. The investigations extended over the year from September, 1879, to September, 1880. The total number of sentences for that period was 16,897. The distinctively rum offenses aggregated 12,289 — over 72 per cent. of the whole, leaving 4,608, or somewhat over 27 per cent. to represent all other crimes during the year. In addition to this fact we learn "that 2,097 of the 4,608 were in liquor at the time of the commission of the various offenses of which they were found guilty (this number being equal to 12 per cent. of the sum of offenses for the year), that 1,918 were in liquor at the time of the formation of the criminal intent; that of the 4,608 convictions, the total abstainers numbered 1,158, the moderate drinkers, 1,918, and the excessive drinkers, 1,317." In many cases intemperate habits were such as to introduce a chronic moral condition favorable to crime, and in others the contagion of intemperance produced the criminal. No wonder that the Bureau

concludes its reports with these words: "The result of this investigation . . . calls for earnest and immediate attention at the bar of public opinion and the public conscience of Massachusetts." With a similar inquiry every city in the Union could, in proportion to its population, make a similar report, and the serious lessons which the Boston Bureau reads to the people of Massachusetts would come home to every community in the land.[1]

"The Bitter Cry of Outcast London."

We have lately listened to "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London," revealing to us, in the midst of proud Britain's vaunted civilization, in the year of grace, 1884, a condition of abject poverty and hideous vice such as never existed even in Pagan and barbarous countries — wretchedness that no words can describe, vices so foul as to affright the human soul. The world stands aghast as the horrid drama of the "slums" is unfolded before its eyes. Many causes, no doubt, conspire to produce such misery; but drink holds the chief place in the enumeration. "In all the accounts of this misery which I have read," says Cardinal Manning, "I have found drink to be at the bottom of it. The main cause is drink; it has kept the poor people down, and would not allow them to rise from their state of degradation." "In the district of the Euston Road," says

[1] "After all, if we cannot hunt vice and crime back to their lairs we will be pretty sure to find them in the gin mill. Drunkenness is the prolific mother of most of the evil doing. Drunkenness is the prime cause of all the trouble." Thomas Byrnes, while Superintendent of the New York Police Department.

the author of "The Bitter Cry," "there is one public house to every one hundred people, counting men, women and children." He describes a Saturday night: "Then you meet dozens of poor wretches reeling home to their miserable dens; some of them roll across the roadway and fall, cutting themselves till the blood flows. Every penny, in some instances, has gone for drink. One dilapidated, ragged wretch was gnawing a baked potato. By his side stood a thinly-clad woman bearing a baby in her arms, and in hideous language she reproached him for his selfishness. She had fetched him out of a public house with his last half-penny in his pocket. With that half-penny he had bought the potato which he refused to share with her. At every corner the police are ordering or coaxing men and women to 'move on.' Between twelve and one it is a long procession of drunken men and women, and the most drunken seem to be those whose outward appearance betokens the most abject poverty." Here is the same writer's description of the child misery brought on by intemperance: "The child misery that one beholds is the most heart-rending and appalling element in these discoveries; and of this not the least is the misery inherited from the vice of drunken and dissolute parents, and manifest in the stunted, misshapen, and often loathsome objects that we constantly meet in these localities. From the beginning of their lives they are utterly neglected; their bodies and rags are alive with vermin; they are subjected to the most cruel treatment;

. . . they often pass the whole day without a morsel of food." [1]

From our own American cities, if we but listen, there arises "A Bitter Cry"—a cry almost as bitter as that which goes up from the metropolis of England. The cause, too, is drink. Whisky and beer shops are as numerous as in London, and, as in London, cohorts of slaves surround each shop, pouring into it their earnings, receiving in exchange degradation of body and soul for themselves, and wretchedness and vice for their families.

The evil is growing.

And the evil is growing. Each year the liquor traffic multiplies its haunts, and displays more reckless boldness. Each year drunkenness becomes more widespread and more riotous. This is only natural. Intoxicants create a morbid appetite, the tyranny of which is increased by each indulgence, until it becomes a disease that defies the control of reason and will. The general craving for alcohol in the population at the present day has, by long and continuous indulgence, become a deep-seated malady, and no longer a controllable appetite. It is a veritable epidemic, doing more harm in the same

[1] "We have heard much in these days of 'Horrible London,' and of the bitter cry of its abject. What makes these slums so horrible? I answer, with the certainty and the confidence of one who knows, Drink! And what is the remedy? I tell you that every remedy you attempt will be a miserable failure; I tell the nation, with the conviction founded on experience, that there will be no remedy till you save these outcasts from the temptations of drink. Leave the drink, and you might build palaces for them in vain. Leave the drink, and before a year was over your palaces would still reek with dirt and squalor, with infamy and crime." Archdeacon Farrar, "A Nation's Curse."

limit of time—because to physical misery and death it adds moral ruin—than the black plague we read of in the annals of other days, or the yellow fever and the Asiatic cholera of more recent times. And this epidemic is forever gaining in virulence and death-dealing power! Dark, dismal are the portents of the future, unless means be found to stay the ravages of drink.[1]

[1] Other countries, besides America and Great Britain, are to-day suffering from the drink evil. In the Congress on Alcoholism held in Basle, Switzerland, in the summer of 1896, Professor Jules Denis, of Geneva, read a remarkable paper on "The Consumption of Distilled and Fermented Drinks in Different Countries." The professor assumes that beer contains, on an average, three per cent. of alcohol, wine ten per cent., and cider nine per cent. He adds up the consumption of absolute alcohol under the headings of wine, beer, cider, brandy and other spirituous liquors for several countries, and divides by the population, and asserts that France consumes thirteen quarts of pure alcohol per head of the population per annum (this is equivalent to nearly forty quarts of brandy); Switzerland consumes ten quarts, Belgium and Italy nearly as much as Switzerland. Germany nine quarts. England nearly as much as Germany. The full significance of this list is only to be seen by comparison with statistics of former years. The curse of drinking is increasing on the continent of Europe, especially in France and Belgium. (Vide Report of the Basle Congress in the *London Daily News*.)

Le Temps, the well-known Paris journal, early in 1894, raised a cry of warning against the increase of intemperance in France. It tells us that the public revenue from duty on alcohol reaches 300,000,000 francs. "This apparent emolument of the state," it adds, "is due to the misery of the citizen; and it is not a question only of want of money, to which every confirmed drinker in the class of workingmen fatally condemns himself and his family; it is a question specially of physiological and moral misery, of the ruin of soul and body, of the speedy exhaustion, by the effects of alcoholism, of the vital forces of the nation."

In Belgium the use of alcoholic liquors has been increasing to such an extent that by 1895 there was a drink shop for every forty-one inhabitants or one for every nine men. Says Monsieur Dupetiaux, the Belgian Inspector-General of Prisons: "My

I will not speak of the more hidden and more distressing woes that follow from intemperance. I will leave untouched the pain of heart and the agony of soul that are its fruits. I will not picture the fearful crimes against God to which it leads, crimes that invoke the eternal penalties of divine justice. I am confining myself to public, manifest evils, which he who runs may see, and which it is the duty of statesmanship, as well as of humanity and religion, to study and to remedy. The evils of this kind, direct, undeniable results of intemperance, are assuredly sufficiently appalling to alarm us and to arouse us to action.

The chief cause of Intemperance, the liquor traffic.

We should know the chief cause at work in producing intemperance. Here, as in all moral questions, many and various causes may be assigned. But, above all others, there is one potent cause to which I invite your attention: It is the liquor traffic.

I am well aware that the moment I make mention of this traffic, I awaken deadly enmities. If I speak on intemperance only, no one blames me. The poor drunkard is conscious of his misery, and he holds in friendly grasp the hand that would lift him up; the liquor sellers do not take to themselves the censure which is addressed directly to the victim, and, for self-protection, they proclaim with me loud hatred of drunkenness. But when I call into the arena of dis-

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experience extends now over a quarter of a century, and I declare that four-fifths of the crime and misery that has come before me has been from the vaults of intemperance."

cussion the traffic itself and allot to it a due share of complicity, I am charged with being an enemy of the public peace, warring against guiltless men, seeking to injure them in their material interests and civil rights. It is my duty to speak what I know to be the truth. Permit me to add, it is the duty of all citizens to inquire seriously into this question.

Let me be well understood. I do not say—principles of right reason and of revealed religion do not permit me to say—that liquor selling is in itself wrong. In itself it is no violation of divine law. Conditions and surroundings may be imagined in which no guilt would attach to the traffic, however rare such conditions and such surroundings may actually be. Nor do I say that every liquor dealer at present engaged in the traffic, without an exception, violates the moral or civil law in the prosecution of his business, or that he necessarily works harm to his fellow-men and to society. I entertain no such extreme views. The facts upon which I base my conclusions, I confidently submit to the individual liquor sellers, who with me recognize reason and religion to be the standards regulating all human conduct. What I do say, and what I put before my respected hearers for their attentive consideration, is that the liquor traffic, with its present expansion, with the methods and devices which it to-day adopts, with the power which it to-day wields for the defense of its interests, is a source of serious danger to the commonwealth, and a systematic and fruitful producer of intemperance, and that no effort at reform,

no measures to promote temperance will avail, so long as the liquor traffic is allowed to retain its present power and continue its present methods.

I do not palliate the guilt of the drinker himself in transgressing the limits of strict moderation, nor do I undervalue the sovereign importance of direct appeals to his conscience. But as a matter of fact, the drinker is largely swayed by surrounding influences, and no view of the question can be complete that does not take those influences into account. The daily prayer is "Lead us not into temptation." The power and the nature of the temptation, neither religion nor statesmanship may ignore. The temptation to intemperance must at the present time be the more carefully considered, since the popular taste for alcoholic beverages is not a natural appetite, but a diseased and vitiated craving.

The expansion of the traffic.

Note with me the expansion of the traffic. No one will say that the number of saloons is not far beyond all rational limit. On an average, there is in our cities a saloon to thirty or thirty-five persons likely to frequent drinking shops. The number of saloons exceeds that of all kinds of provision stores combined. In New York, during the year 1882, there were 9,075 licensed saloons; in 1,000 other places, at least, liquor was sold without license—the grand total of saloons being 10,075. In the same city during the same year the shops of butchers, bakers and grocers aggregated only 7,797—shops for the sale of liquor outnumbering those for the sale

of food by 2,278. In Chicago there are 2,761 shops of butchers, bakers and grocers, and, at least, 5,000 saloons licensed and unlicensed. If we estimate a family at five persons, there is in the city of New York, for every twenty-five families, several of whom use no liquor, one family in charge of a liquor shop.

It is the constant study of the traffic to multiply its centres; it is a modern Briareus, reaching out in each city its hundred arms towards the four points of the compass, and brandishing in every hand a sword in defense of its power. It is lynx-eyed in searching for opportunities to display its cups and bottles. Let a new suburb be platted—one of the first lots purchased will be for a saloon; let a factory be erected—the first band of workmen entering its portals will read suspended over a house near by, "Wines and Liquors." The traffic puts up its sign-boards near the house of prayer, near the very resting place of the dead. The wholesale dealers are the chief culprits in expanding the lines of the traffic. The retailers stand in the front ranks, and to them the champions of temperance usually deal out the most severe blows. But in justice to them it must be said that the chief conspirators are to be found in the rear of the army of liquor men. The wholesale dealers have the capital, and they know that every new saloon will be a new output for their beer and their whisky. Hence they set up the retailer, signing his bond, advancing the money to pay the license and the rent of the shop, and to purchase

fixtures. Your Citizen's Reform Association has ascertained that in this city one wholesale dealer is the surety for eighty-nine saloon keepers, another for seventy-four, another again for forty, and a fourth for thirty-five — four wholesale dealers being the sureties for two hundred and thirty-eight saloon keepers. A hurried examination, made by a reporter of the *Chicago Tribune*, of the chattel mortgages on record in Chicago revealed the fact that one wholesale dealer holds mortgages on the fixtures of eighty-two retailers, another on those of fifty-eight, another on those of forty. The *Toledo Blade* says that one brewer in Toledo "boasts that he owns one hundred and thirty-four saloons, and that he controls the votes of the keepers."

Temptations to drink.

Here at once a great danger arises. The temptation to drink is placed at each man's door. Alcohol pursues the laborer, the mechanic, the merchant, wherever he goes, morning, noon, and night. It is near his place of business, near his workshop, near his residence. The liquor traffic combines with other branches of business, so that he is compelled, whatever he does, to meet it. The liquor saloon makes itself a part of the boarding house, of the restaurant, and of the grocery store. The poor man cannot purchase a pound of tea or a sack of flour without having the odor of alcohol thrust upon him. After a hard day's work the boarder has scarcely partaken of his evening meal before he is pressed to patronize the bar; indeed he is usually obliged to

spend the closing hours of the evening in the saloon, which is the sole parlor of the establishment. "Bosses" around warehouses and railroads own saloons, and the men who do not pay for copious potations will soon be discharged from work. We must be ignorant of human nature, if we do not see that a thousand persons will drink when temptation presses upon them, for the hundred who will put themselves to some difficulty to obtain liquor. Why, our working classes are, we might say, compelled to drink and to become drunkards, so strong are the temptations with which they are beset; and it ill becomes their fellow-citizens, whom circumstances have placed beyond the reach of temptation, to rebuke them for their intemperance, while no one lifts a hand to remove or diminish the fearful dangers by which they are surrounded.

Each saloon is a recruiting ground to make drunkards. All imaginable inducements are held out to entrap the unwary. Opening soirees, free lunches, musical concerts, flower displays, attract victims into the meshes of the keeper. Once they are caught, he is skilled in the tricks of his art: with smile and word he works up stout drinking parties in which the etiquette of "treats" will call for numerous "rounds," and in which the hero is he who empties his glass with the greatest rapidity. Soon reason is clouded, appetite enraged, and the unfortunate victims do not cease their bout until the last dime has been paid out, and the last vibration of self-respect stilled in moral death.

In its greed for gain, the liquor traffic puts itself above all law. Utter lawlessness and recklessness characterize its methods. It is conscienceless. In vain are we reminded that within certain conditions the traffic may be licit and harmless; to those conditions the traffic, as we know it, does not intend to conform itself. I am speaking, it must be borne in mind, of the traffic at large, with no intention of implicating in my charges every individual saloon keeper. There may be exceptions to the general rule, and, when the exceptions are proven, I will cheerfully acknowledge them.

Lawlessness of the traffic.

For the lawlessness of the liquor traffic there are various reasons. A peculiar class is engaged in the saloon business. Many of them are men wholly devoid of principles of right-conduct. It will not be denied by the more reputable saloon keepers that no other business numbers in its ranks so many bad and reckless members. I find it stated that in New York and Philadelphia a very large proportion of these liquor sellers have been, at one time or another, inmates of county or state prisons. The letter of the law demands that the applicant for a license to sell liquor be a man of good moral habits. Such is the law; such is not the practice. Speaking of the saloon keepers of New York, Judge Noah Davis recently said: "Often the sole certificates of good habits which they are able to present, are certificates signed at Sing Sing." A man's power to control a ward caucus will be far more effective in

obtaining a license than the most excellent moral habits. A large proportion of those who open saloons are broken-down, impecunious men, who have failed in other occupations, and are fit for nothing but liquor selling. The man spoken of in Scripture who will neither work nor beg, to-day seeks out a wholesale dealer who is willing to set him up as a saloon keeper. The one aim of such men must be to make money. Poverty, and the pressing demands of the wholesaler for repayment of his loan, compel them to look upon the means as a matter of indifference, provided the end be attained. The very competition among the retailers, rendered necessary by their great number, is another fact impelling them to reckless measures. There is but a small patronage possible for each saloon, thirty or thirty-five persons, and if each saloon does not receive its average patronage its profits will be inconsiderable. Indeed, even with the full average patronage, the demand for liquor will be insufficient unless that demand be beyond the limits which sobriety should dictate. With thirty or thirty-five patrons who would not drink to excess, the saloon keeper would starve, instead of being able, as he usually is, to keep a bank account, own a fine residence, and clothe his wife and daughters in silks and satins. The vast expansion of the liquor traffic to-day renders liquor selling, if confined within the limits of moral and civil law, an unprofitable and consequently an impossible avocation. Last year, according to the *Detroit Free Press*, a would-be model saloon keeper announced his advent in

Detroit; he posted up over the bar, rules which were to regulate his saloon; in less than a month he closed his doors. The saloon conducted in a decent manner does not pay.

There are saloons which, in order to increase their receipts, put themselves at the service of lawlessness, intentionally provoke lawlessness, become the allies of all forms of lawlessness. The saloon of this class reeks with blasphemy and foul language. It is the scene of quarrels, murders, robberies. It is often a mere avenue to dens of deepest infamy. Are not open incitements to immorality sometimes the attraction of the saloon? Around the drink-counter crimes of every description hover. The saloon is the resort of gamblers, thieves and libertines. Hence do they issue, when the shades of night have descended upon the town, to prey upon their fellow-men, to plunder homes, to satiate hellish lusts.

I will enumerate certain lawless practices in which, with very few exceptions — if there are exceptions — the whole traffic is concerned. The traffic, you will thus see, aims at being a law to itself and repudiates all authority whenever the declarations of authority may not suit its views and interests. It acts as if it were the privileged business, the ruling power, raised above all law of state or city, whose mandates it openly and defiantly disregards.

In every state of the Union there is a law that no buying or selling shall take place on Sunday, and especially that there shall be on that day no buy-

ing or selling of intoxicating drinks. In this instance the civil law only reiterates the precept of the Christian code. Religion and country derive signal advantages from the observance of the Sunday. To both, the Sunday rest is of the greatest importance. The traditions of America mark out the Sunday as one of our most sacred and time-honored institutions; the observance of the Sabbath is for us, and with reason, a matter of national pride. Sunday morning finds the banker, the real estate agent, the dry goods merchant, the grocer at rest from business. But the liquor dealer flings open the door of his saloon, and laughs at the laws of religion and of country. The day, he knows, favors the traffic; workingmen are free from their usual labors, are unprotected from his plottings, and he covets the week's earnings. More than any other business, liquor selling is antagonistic to the Sunday law, because its essential tendency is to beget noise and excitement, which interfere with the rights of the public to repose and to quiet enjoyment. Let no one defend this violation of law by calling the defenders of the Sunday rest Puritans and Pharisees; these are meaningless words repeated to frighten the unwary. Our Sunday is a precious inheritance, and we cannot afford to pardon the traffic that desecrates the day; we cannot afford to overlook the contempt of law which the desecration of the Sunday involves.

Selling liquor on Sundays and after midnight.

The laws forbid the sale of liquor after midnight. It is the slightest concession to public peace and to

sobriety the country could demand, that at least during the hours of declining night the saloons should restore their customers to home and family, and prevent violent interruptions of the solemn stillness in which kind nature, for the peaceful repose of its children, wraps the earth. But no, not even at midnight will liquor cease its foul and noisy work. An alderman in the city council of Chicago recently proposed to repeal the ordinance to close saloons at midnight, giving as his reason that "the saloons keep open anyway in violation of the law." The mayor of Milwaukee undertook, in the autumn of 1883, to enforce in that city its midnight ordinance. The saloon keepers defied him. They were sustained by a majority of the aldermen, and the mayor retired, vanquished before the lawlessness of saloon sovereignty.

Again, religion and State combine to protect innocent and inexperienced youth. To minors, it is proclaimed, no liquor shall be sold. Our boys and girls are untried in life's dangers; with their immature judgment they are unprepared to discern and to resist temptation. They need the protection of the strong arm of the law. The simplicity and innocence of youth demand, of themselves, tender reverence. For the child, yet pure and happy, instant death were preferable to the fatal demoralization which the draught of alcohol contains. But the saloon keeper is deaf to appeals of humanity and religion — the boy or girl who casts a dime into his

Selling to minors and habitual drunkards.

till receives from his hand the poison-bearing cup.

Six years ago the Citizens' League was organized in Chicago to prevent the selling of liquor to minors. When the members began their work they were horrified to discover that from 25,000 to 30,000 boys and girls were annually passing through the saloons of the city, and in great numbers from its saloons to its police courts, thus perennially recruiting its army of drunkards and criminals. Nor were all the minors bootblacks, children of topers, or vagabonds. Mr. Andrew Paxton, the agent of the League, examined closely into names, parentage and habits, and the alarming fact came to the surface that of every five minors found in saloons three had been attending some Sunday school in the city. Mr. Paxton found, moreover, that boys, and even some girls, of families of means, education, good morals, and often high Christian profession, were more constant patrons of beer gardens than were the children of people of low estate, chiefly because they were supplied with pocket money by their unsuspecting parents.

No less deserving of sympathy than the innocent minor is the miserable drunkard. Large and continuous potations have destroyed in him all will-power and manhood. His appetite for drink renders him insane. He drinks because he cannot control himself, and he drinks reckless of all consequences to himself or to others. The tottering gait and the livid countenance tell that his days are numbered, that he stands at death's door. View well the wreck,

saloon keeper; it is your work. Now at least, pity him, spare him for a little time, while yet the vital spark flickers, however faintly, within him. By no pretense of argument can you build up a false conscience and throw the responsibility of the abuse upon the drinker; he is no longer accountable for his actions. Think, even at this late hour, of a sorrowing wife or mother, dreading lest the miserable man may die in his sin. What say you, saloon keeper? He answers by a contemptuous grin, and the glass is handed over the counter to the habitual drunkard. As long as it receives money for drink, the liquor traffic is demoniac in its recklessness; it has not the slightest concern that homes are ruined, that joy and hope are crushed out from hearts, that virtue is destroyed, souls damned, earth cursed, and eternity filled with darkness and despair.

The traffic respects no law.

Where has the liquor traffic loyally and unreservedly submitted to laws enacted to restrict the occasions of gain from the sale of drink? In the state of New York there is an excise law containing many excellent provisions for the prevention of wanton drunkenness: is there in the whole Empire State a dozen saloon keepers conforming to these provisions? Your 1,750 saloons in Buffalo are supposed by law to be "inns." The keepers are sworn to observe the law on this point. To the violation of law they add perjury. In the city of Chicago it has been recently decided, in accordance with the Harper state law, that the license fee for selling distilled liquors shall be $500, and the fee for selling fermented

liquors, $150. The saloon keepers openly declare that they will take out the cheaper license, and under cover of it, sell, in spite of law, whatever their customers may desire.

With one saloon to every one hundred or one hundred and twenty-five persons in the population, and a spirit of absolute recklessness in the greed of gain ruling the traffic, need we wonder that drunkards exist by the legion, and that sin, sorrow, poverty and wretchedness cloud and sully the fair face of our country.

The political power of the traffic.

But behold the culmination of the evil. This liquor traffic, lawless and reckless, deliberately fomenting and spreading intemperance, fattening upon the putrid fruits of alcohol, defying all law, human and divine, fostering sin and crime — this liquor traffic has fastened itself upon the politics of the land. Alcohol is king, making and unmaking laws, enforcing or annulling them at will.

The significance of the political power of alcohol is fearful. Our hope, our protection from wrongdoers is the law; when the law is the will of the men whose interests are most closely connected with wrongdoing, evil reigns triumphant. If political power continues to be used for the further development of the liquor traffic, woe and sin will crowd thick and fast upon the country — black despair awaits us.

The cities rule the whole country, and liquor rules the cities. The ward caucus, the nucleus of all

political developments, is organized and controlled by saloon keepers or their henchmen. No candidate for office who is not their trusted friend can hope for a place on the ticket. Before election day, politics is the one topic of the saloon; the man behind the bar is the master to whom the crowd listens, and whose words become their law. The saloons are banded together, and as their number is so great, even if we estimate only at ten or twelve the number of voters that each saloon keeper will manipulate, we may easily understand what a legion of slaves the liquor interest is able to marshal at the polls. Few are the candidates who are elected without having propitiated the saloon by generous "treats" to "the boys," and copious libations for themselves. The greatest humiliation for freemen citizens of a republic is the pilgrimage which the political aspirant is compelled to make to the shrines of alcohol, if he would obtain success. This pilgrimage is a source of dreadful social corruption, as men whose associations and education might otherwise have held them aloof from the saloon are in this way obliged to honor and to patronize the trade, and in so doing often lose forever their self-control and their manhood.

As a political power, the liquor traffic achieves success. The saloon keepers either appropriate the offices to themselves or distribute them to loyal friends who will sacredly guard their interests. Of the twenty-four aldermen of New York twelve are liquor dealers, nine of them having a third grade license. The control of the liquor traffic in New York

belongs to three excise commissioners, who, the law says, shall be "good and responsible citizens," nominated by the mayor and confirmed by the aldermen. The commissioners confirmed by the New York aldermen will not, we may be sure, be severe with saloon keepers. In Chicago saloon keepers are numerous in the city council; hence no law adverse to saloons is enforced in the metropolis of the West; and when, in 1883, the state legislature passed a high-license law, the council quickly resorted to a disgraceful trick to prolong by one year the low-license regime. In Milwaukee the mayor has been powerless to enforce even the midnight-closing law; the aldermen, many of whom are saloon keepers, took part with the saloons. In Boston eight of the councilmen are liquor dealers. In that city the chairman of the police commissioners is also a saloon keeper. A member of the council, who is also a member of the committee on police, has been twice convicted of selling liquor in violation of law. Even the school board in Boston is controlled by the saloon interest. It is a law of Massachusetts that no saloon shall be opened within a distance of four hundred feet from a schoolhouse. To admit saloons into certain quarters, schoolhouses have been closed, and the buildings condemned. The lower courts are paralyzed by the power of the traffic. In Brooklyn a beer seller was on trial for selling beer on Sunday. The evidence was direct, positive. No attempt was made to rebut it. The jury at once returned a verdict of acquittal, and the

jurymen went in a body to the defendant's saloon and drank together at his bar.

In Chicago, according to the *Tribune*, matters have come to this pass that the Citizens' League Association declare themselves ready and willing to prove that the grand juries are formed in the interest of the traffic, an agreement existing between the saloon keepers' association and the county commissioners that the majority of every grand jury shall be men who are opposed to finding indictments against saloon keepers.

The traffic is bold and daring, and its audacity increases with its success. Not satisfied with control in politics, it invades business circles and threatens commercial ruin where its interests are opposed. Merchants and bankers, no less than politicians, tremble before it, and in their fear smother their conscientious convictions. This is why it is so difficult to arouse men to action against the evils of the traffic; good and intelligent men by the thousand accept our arraignment of the saloon, and wish success to all temperance movements; but they fear to cooperate actively with us, lest they suffer in their own business.

The traffic puts forth threats against the sanctuary of the Lord. It demands imperiously that the ministers of truth sanction by their silence its nefarious practices; it even threatens rebellion, if they do not accord to it honor and obedience.

A solemn question for the American people, demanding their most serious attention is: Whence

is to come safety from the utter ruin with which intemperance menaces the Republic?

The State must interfere.

The State only can save us. I know well the power of moral suasion, of teaching by individual example, and individual exhortation, in the battle with intemperance. But, to be satisfied with moral suasion, while an army of lawless liquor sellers is day and night actively propagating intemperance, is, simply, trying to heal wounded men on the battlefield, while from safe entrenchments a persistent enemy darkens the sky with shot and shell, strewing the ground with thousands of fresh victims. Upon moral suasion the traffic smiles approvingly; the wholesale dealer and the retailer will sit before rostrum or pulpit, nodding assent to denunciations of drunkenness — moral suasion leaves their work intact. We must reach the potent cause of intemperance, if we would arrest its onward course; this cause is the traffic which the State only is competent to regulate and to hold within legitimate bounds.[1]

It is the duty of the State to interpose its authority.

[1] The Belgian Academy of Medicine, at its meeting of 1896, declared: "The legislature should not favor the creation of new centres for the manufacture of alcohol, but it should make war without mercy against this mortal enemy of society. . . . In modern society alcohol is, in fact, the most to be dreaded of all pathological agents. It empoisons individuals by thousands and ruins generations. It saps the foundations of social prosperity — the power to work, the development of intelligence, the moral sense. The alcoholic drinker is the scourge of his family — bad son, bad husband. He begets blemished children and becomes their worst corrupter. He blasphemes, steals and kills; he knows neither morality nor

The present practices of the traffic are criminal aggressions upon the liberty and the rights of the citizens of the State. The most helpless victims of those aggressions are special wards of the state — minors and habitual drunkards, those whom immature or perverted minds render incapable of self-government.

The traffic heaps upon us unbearable burthens, from which the State must save us. We are taxed for the trial and the punishment of criminals that the saloons beget, for the support of dependent classes that they reduce to misery and poverty. Three-fourths of the expenditures for police force, jails, reformatories, asylums, poorhouses, are the legacy of the traffic, the fruit of its lawless methods. How long will the American people remain patient under oppressive and unjust taxation from which a strong united protest would at once deliver them?

Solicitude for its own salvation should impel the State to adopt vigorous action in this matter. It is for the State a question of life or death. How long will our free institutions endure if voters issue from saloons on election day, if caucus meetings are ruled

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righteousness. There is not a law, human or divine, that alcohol is not able to infringe. Society in its entirety ought to league itself against it.

"We doctors and representatives of the medical profession, who see every day in private practice, in the hospitals, the asylums for the insane, the prisons, the lamentable victims of the great social poison; we who are witnesses of the degeneracy which affects the progeny of alcoholics, we cannot but protest against every law that touches alcohol otherwise than for the purpose of fighting it and raising a barrier against its ravages."

by saloon keepers, if laws are made or unmade at the bidding of alcohol? No other country, so much as a republic, needs sobriety in its citizens; for in a republic the citizens make the laws. We declare that the State should be the uncompromising enemy of ignorance, because intelligence is needed at the polls. Are not sobriety and honesty needed far more than intelligence? Should not the State be the uncompromising enemy of the drink which steals away men's brains and, by depriving them of reason, deprives them of honor and of principle? The State fondling the liquor traffic is what fable could not have imagined — Laocoön caressing the giant serpent while it stealthily coils around parent and sons its slimy length, soon, with fatal pressure, to drive forever from their frames the breath of life.[1]

The State means the voters.

In America the State means the voters, who elect the men to enact and the men to execute laws. It means you, my hearers. In this Republic the laws are made and ordered to be executed at the polls, and what is the duty of the State is the duty of each citizen at the moment he deposits his ballot in the urn. The highest principle which should govern in political acts, is this: That we must cast our votes for the men and the measures that will best promote the welfare of the State and of its subjects. Duty to this principle is above loyalty to political parties.

[1] "It is a mere mockery to attempt to put down drunkenness by moral and religious means alone when the legislature facilitates the incitements to intemperance on every hand."— Cardinal Manning, address delivered in Manchester. 1878.

No party should dare attempt to control conscience or the acts which conscience dictates. The merits of the party ticket, not the bidding of the party rulers, should decide how we vote. The men are slaves whose votes a party owns, and their right to citizenship is forfeited. Indifference to political life on the part of the great number, indifference to the merits of the ticket that seeks their support, has brought upon America most serious evils, and for the sake of country and of religion, it is time for the people to arouse themselves to a full sense of their duty as citizens.

The cry of personal liberty.

No sooner is mention made of laws affecting the liquor traffic than a cry of protest is heard. The protest, we are told, is made in the name of personal rights and of personal liberty, threatened by the laws which we would enact or enforce. Personal liberty! It ever was the fashion of wrong to bedeck itself with righteous names. Liberty is dear to the American people—so dear that the name is a passport to all hearts. But will we allow slavery and vice to borrow a name so sacred and to make their own the rights and privileges of which it is the token? It is Liberty herself that to-day commands law to place restrictions upon the liquor traffic. The first duty of the liberty-loving citizen is to hold more precious than the apple of his eye the life of the Republic, the mother of liberty, and to war against her enemies. He who opposes her flag on the battlefield is a less dangerous foe to the Republic than he who scatters

moral poison through her towns and villages, and defies in his daily avocation her laws and her law-giving power. Liberty means not a license for one portion of the community to prey as hungry beasts upon the other, but the rights of all men to enjoy without disturbance life and property. Liberty! To what base service the liquor dealer would chain thee! In thy name he demands license to rob of soul and life the minor and the habitual drunkard, to break in with riot and shame upon the quietness of our Sunday, to track the poor laborer to his home and workshop lest he bring bread to his starving wife and children. The liquor dealer demands license to trample underfoot the laws of the land, to level death-dealing blows against the Republic. Not more audacious would be the clamoring of the spirit of the furious waters of our great rivers, demanding license to sweep away whole cities, and to engulf in its mad torrent hecatombs of human lives. No, no, we know Liberty, but the cry of the liquor traffic is not the cry of Liberty.

Put no saloon keepers in office.

The first duty of citizens, in reference to the liquor traffic, is to free the country from the political control of the saloon. So long as the saloon is in power, intemperance will run riot and daily wax more defiant and more destructive. Never give your votes to put a saloon keeper in office; it is not to be expected that he will forget in the service of his country the interests of his own traffic. Beware of the saloon candidate; he who owes his election to

the saloon keeper, retains kind remembrance of his benefactor and serves him as occasion offers. Keep out of office the timid man, who will fear to do what is right, lest he offend the saloon keeper. To brave men only, to men of principle and conscience, can the reins of government be safely entrusted. The first and most necessary step towards reform is to reduce beer and whisky men and their friends to obscurity, to wrest completely from their hands the helm of government in village, city and state.

Enforce the laws.

Then, when liquor laws have been placed on the statute book, see to it that they be rigidly and persistently enforced. Due respect for the sacredness and the authority of law will not permit the smallest part of it to become inoperative and ineffective. It is a stigma on republican institutions that the very men against whom a law has been enacted are able to render it nugatory. A free government, depending upon universal suffrage, is not safe unless the deepest reverence for law permeates the public mind. We are moving downward whenever the proclamation of law is not followed by its enforcement. By its persistent defiance of law, the liquor traffic is effectually undermining the foundations of society, and working towards the total disruption of the Republic. The traffic is to-day the most dangerous enemy the country knows, and it amazes me beyond measure, that the American people, proud as they are of their republican institutions, and conscious of their high mission to hold aloft for the entire world

the light of liberty, should stand idly by, and permit, without a protest, the liquor traffic to mock with impunity the enactments of the State. The great need of the hour in America is a powerful public opinion which will ensure the observance of the law by all classes of society. In our crusade against intemperance, the formation of this public opinion must ever be our chief work.

Reduction in the number of saloons.

Our present liquor laws would, if strictly enforced, do much to diminish intemperance, and we should at once see that they are enforced. But such is to-day the attitude of the liquor traffic that if we would counteract its baneful tendencies and bring it, in some measure, within legitimate bounds, a new law must be enacted — a law aiming at the reduction in the number of saloons. All the evils we deplore, in connection with the liquor trade, either originate with, or are intensified by, the unrestrained expansion of the traffic. Thence it comes that the temptation to drink is ubiquitous; thence it is that a fierce competition for business impels the saloon keepers to transgress law and order. The expansion of the traffic is the cause of the non-enforcement of the liquor laws; saloons are so numerous that police supervision of them is impossible; the political power of the traffic is proportioned to the number of the saloons and overrides all law.

No one, not the liquor seller himself, will deny that saloons are to-day far too numerous for all rational wants. Alcohol, even within the limits of

what might be called its legitimate use, is a dangerous beverage, to be tasted in fear and trembling. Yet stores for its supply outnumber almost by two to one stores for the supply of food of all kinds.

High license.

How is this reduction in the number of saloons to be effected? The method is a matter of secondary importance, provided that the reduction takes place. A special high tax upon the traffic, or, as some prefer to call it, a restrictive license-fee, meets the requirements of the case. The doctrine of restriction is nothing new. The liquor traffic has been universally considered to be a branch of trade peculiarly liable to serious abuses, and in consequence one to be placed by the State under special control. A restrictive tax of some kind has been the means employed to subject it to such control; the right of the State to impose this tax, and the equity of the measure have never been questioned. What we have now to determine is simply the degree of control which is needed — the amount of tax which will secure that degree will be the amount which our special tax should attain.

Economists in America and Europe who have written upon this matter allow no higher number of saloons than one to five hundred in the population — several allowing only one to one thousand in the population. We will not, however, give further attention to this phase of the question; our aim is to effect a considerable reduction in the present number of saloons — not to determine the specific degree of such reduction.

The Nebraska law imposes upon each saloon in large cities a tax of $1000, and in other places a tax of $500. The effect of the Nebraska law has been excellent. A tax of $500 is the lowest that can be accounted as restrictive. The Illinois law imposes a tax of $500 on the sale of distilled liquor, and one of $150 on the sale of beer or wine. I mention the law of Illinois to indicate what the people of that state consider to be its vital defect — the discrimination between distilled and fermented liquors. The Chicago saloon keepers announce that they purpose to take out only beer licenses, and openly declare that they will sell whisky as well as beer, and defy the detection of their illicit proceedings. An alderderman of the city, Mr. Appleton, who is also a saloon keeper, declares that no one can make a living upon the sale of beer alone, and that the saloon keepers who take out beer licenses cannot but violate the law. Other cities of Illinois have wisely made the license uniform, as the Harper law permitted them to do. To be effective, the tax must be uniform for all kinds of intoxicating drink.

Effects of High License.

The law fixing the tax should make the license forfeitable, in case of the violation of any law on the statute book, and should forbid in such case a refunding of the license fee. To the court alone should belong the right to declare the forfeiture. Aldermen or excise commissioners ought not be burthened with this delicate and trying duty.

The admirable effects of high license recommend it to all thoughtful men. Only recently the spokesman of the New York liquor sellers declared before a legislative committee in Albany, that a high license law would compel three-fourths of the saloons to close their doors. The wholesale dealers will no longer be desirous to set up in business the irresponsible and the poverty stricken. Some of the most dangerous places will be swept out of existence—the grocery saloon, the special curse of women and children, and the shops conducted by the broken-down and the impecunious. The hangers-on of saloons will decrease in number; there will not be so many preparing to be vagrants and "bummers." The saloon "bosses" and the saloon voters will become fewer. It will be to the interest of those who remain in the business to observe some order and decency in their establishments, and to give efficient aid to the police in the repression of unlicensed rum holes.

High license has been put to the test and has not been found wanting. Four years ago, before high license was introduced, Omaha, with a population of thirty thousand, had one hundred and eighty saloons; to-day, under high license, with a population of fifty thousand, it has only eighty-five saloons. The local papers of the city state that drunkenness and crime have largely decreased, and that no one, not even the liquor dealers themselves, would return to the old regime. In Chicago, since last May, when the high license law went into effect, only two or

three new licenses for the sale of distilled liquor have been taken out—a fact very significant in a city where, formerly, each year witnessed the opening of hundreds of new saloons.

Can high license be enforced?

It is asked, can a high license law be enforced? Will it not share the fate of other liquor laws at present on the statute book, that have become a mere dead letter? The high license law, I answer, is strictly enforced in Omaha and other places, and the enforcement of a similar law should not be impossible in this state. High license ensures its own enforcement, because it brings a pecuniary gain not only to the public treasury, but also to the saloon keepers who do pay the license fee. The latter will see that no competitors rise up in the business who will not at least be subject to the burthens which they themselves have to bear. The chief reason why the liquor laws are not enforced is the unchecked expansion of the traffic; high license will reduce this expansion and render those laws far easier of enforcement than they have been in the past.

High license is feasible; it is, moreover, a measure which will conciliate the adhesion of all who are interested in retrenching the abuse of the liquor traffic. On the one hand, the temperance workers who would have more stringent and radical measures adopted—who would fain see the liquor traffic swept out of existence—will support high license, for they cannot fail to recognize that it must be productive of most beneficial results, even if it be not so far-

reaching in its effects as they could desire. They will not take alarm at a name; they will compromise no principle — to tax a traffic is not to sanction it, to repress abuses by law is not to authorize them.

No ground for opposition to the measure.

On the other hand, they who hold that the traffic is a necessity, or who are opposed to absolute prohibition, have no reason to refuse their support to a high-license measure, which allows the traffic and aims only at confining it within less objectionable channels. No one, surely, will openly defend the present vast expansion of the traffic. A change is imperative. The country can no longer endure the liquor traffic as it exists — to do so would be suicidal for the community. Now, the measures of repression, which we propose, are mild and conservative; the defeat of those measures through the machinations of the traffic will be taken as evidence that the traffic is indissolubly wedded to its nefarious practices, and then will come the moment of supreme peril for morality and country, when all who favor sobriety and observance of law will be driven to take the most advanced position, and to fight as for very life against the existence of the traffic in any form. The hopelessness of effective reforms by less drastic measures would furnish justification to the plea of prohibition. This plea is being forced upon public attention by the obstinate opposition of liquor-men's associations, and of so-called personal liberty leagues, to all and any restriction upon the traffic.

Against a high license law the liquor traffic puts forth one argument, and urges it with sickening repetition. Under such a law, it pleads, the poor man must suffer—high license must result in a monopoly of the liquor business in favor of the rich. Granted, for the sake of argument, that this objection is true, does it follow that a law, which is needed for the good of all classes of the community, must not be enacted because of the hardships which it entails upon the few of one particular class? The principles which underlie all legislation furnish an unanswerable reply. But, further, the interest of the liquor traffic in the poor man is misplaced. I am, assuredly, deeply concerned for the poor man, but for that very reason I wish to see him out of the liquor traffic. I cannot feel in my heart such hatred for any man as to wish him to spend his days behind a bar; but the poor man particularly would I remove from it, because special dangers await him, and he appeals more strongly to my sympathies.

Will the poor man suffer through high license?

Interest in the poor man! The Jews once appealed to Cæsar: "We have no other king than Cæsar." Their words were the embodiment of the deepest hypocrisy. They hated Cæsar; but the words served their sinister purpose. Just as hypocritical, believe me, are the professions of interest in the poor man which we hear to-day from the liquor seller. Would you understand how hollow are such professions? Come with me to garret and to cellar, to back street and squalid alley, whither the

slaves of drink repair from the saloons, and while you stand aghast at the scenes of awful wretchedness, I will ask you to take in hand the poor man's cause. Come with me some morning to the police court, and study the poor man as he is ushered in from a neighboring cell by the policeman, who tells the story of nocturnal debauch and murderous riot. Come with me to prison, to reformatory, to poor-house. Follow me to the pauper's corner in the cemetery, and in pity I will beg you to guard the poor man from the cause of his poverty, his woe, his sin — the "interest" of the liquor traffic. O Father of the poor, of the helpless orphan, and of the distressed widow, save us from such interest in Thy suffering children!

I speak, ladies and gentlemen, from my heart. May my words bear to your hearts all my feelings! Too often I have seen the misery and the horrid wretchedness which intemperance begets; too often I have heard the shrieks of woe and despair which it compels; too well I know the fearful sins which before Heaven are laid to its charge. The dark tracings of the picture are ever before my mind. As long as the beatings of my pulse remind me of my common humanity with the victims of intemperance, as long as I love my country dearly and hope for the perpetuation of its glories and its liberties, as long as I recognize duties towards Him who came from the skies to save sinners, to heal the sore, to comfort the weary, to solace the afflicted, to do good — so long will I never cease to protest by word and act against

intemperance, the giant curse of our day, and against those who dare, in their reckless contempt of earth and Heaven, to encourage and foment intemperance.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE SALOON.

THE subjoined article on "The Catholic Church and the Saloon" appeared in the *North American Review* for October, 1894, and, with the permission of the editor of that magazine, is here reproduced as supplementary to the discourse on "Intemperance and Law." That discourse dealt with the dreadful ravages of drink in America, and pointed out the saloon as the potent agency in fostering and disseminating intemperance. It also drew attention to the deleterious influence of the liquor traffic as a political power in the United States. Since the saloon is the prolific source of intemperance, and a constant danger to the country and its institutions, it has been deemed well to make plain the attitude of the Church towards the saloon. The article may also be of interest as affording an explanation of certain facts that sometimes lead to a misconception of the mind of the Church upon the liquor traffic.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE SALOON.

DECISIONS of high courts, however limited they may be in their immediate application, usually work out far-reaching results. They show forth the spirit of laws and institutions and establish a standard of action which invites general compliance. This is decidedly the fact in the ruling of ecclesiastical law, which was recently handed down by the appellate court of the Apostolic Delegate, Monsignor Francis Satolli, and which sustained the edict of the Bishop of Columbus, excluding liquor dealers from office and even membership in Catholic associations.

The Bishop Watterson decree.

Some months ago, the Rt. Rev. John A. Watterson, Bishop of Columbus, promulgated for his diocese the law that no existing Catholic society, or branch, or division thereof, shall be allowed to have a liquor dealer or a saloon keeper at its head or among its officers; and that no new Catholic society, or new branch of an old organization, shall be formed which would admit even to membership any person engaged, whether as principal or as agent, in the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors. A sup-

plementary clause of the law excludes from the sacraments of the Church saloon keepers who persist in selling liquor on Sundays, or otherwise conduct their business in an unlawful manner. While this clause merely rehearses the ordinary conclusions of Catholic moral theology, it is worthy of special notice, as it brings into clearer light the spirit and intent of the preceding legislation. By this legislation, evidently, the penalty of exclusion from Catholic societies falls upon liquor dealers and saloon keepers as such, even when, by a departure from the general custom, they conduct their business in a lawful manner, and do not deserve the more grievous penalty of exclusion from the sacraments.

The decree confirmed.

From this law an appeal was taken by a society of the diocese of Columbus to the highest Catholic tribunal in the United States, that of the Apostolic Delegate, and in due time a decision was given sustaining the Bishop in all points. "Those three things," writes Monsignor Satolli, "which are expressed in the letter of the Right Reverend Bishop have the approval not only of Catholics, but also of the non-Catholics in your city; being in harmony with the laws of the Church, and seasonable and necessary to the honor of the Church, especially in Ohio. Therefore those things which the Right Reverend Bishop has commanded in his decree I approve, and I decide that they are to be observed. And if, perhaps, for the time being they seem to hurt the material interests of some, this will *have* to be patiently endured for the good of

the many and the honor of the Holy Catholic Church."[1]

The law made by the Bishop is affirmed, and the reasons of the law are accepted and endorsed by the Delegate.

The law, as enacted by Bishop Watterson and ratified by the Delegate, is confined to the diocese of Columbus. But, a notable victory over the saloon has been won for the whole United States. It is plain that, if other bishops issue similar laws for their respective territories, their action will be sustained by the higher powers. Whatever course may be adopted within other jurisdictions — whether bishops consider the saloon power already sufficiently curbed in their dioceses to render further restrictive measures unnecessary, or whether this power is so reckless that prudence counsels more cautious methods of intervention — the American saloon is everywhere branded with the disfavor of the Church. Henceforth Catholic public opinion frowns upon the saloon and the saloon keeper; saloon keeping is accounted a disreputable business, and the saloon keeper, however correctly he conducts his particular saloon, must not and will not, because of the general malodorousness of his business, be permitted to appear in any capacity as a representative of the Church or as a prominent Catholic; he must and will be kept aloof from all places of honor and distinction in the Church.

[1] "Loyalty to Church and State," by Mgr. Satolli — Part IV — On Temperance.

The action of Bishop Watterson and of Monsignor Satolli makes no general law for the Church in America; but it will be effective in forming Catholic public opinion for the whole country, and public opinion is often more potent than law. As to its effects — since the saloon in Ohio is much the same as the saloon throughout the United States, the opprobrium which the saloon incurs in Ohio deservedly falls on it in other states also, whether this opprobrium is crystalized or not into a law, and the hand of authority, which in Ohio drives the saloon into obloquy, practically inflicts upon it the same penalty throughout the country. Whoever understands the force of public opinion among Catholics will easily read the signs of the times, and perceive that among Catholics in America the saloon is a doomed institution, and saloon keeping a disgraceful business, from which Catholic instinct will shrink.

Effect of the decrees.

The American saloon has of late fared ill at the hands of the Catholic Church. In 1884, the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, the decrees of which were approved by His Holiness, Pope Leo XIII, bade Catholics who might be engaged in saloon keeping to abandon this avocation, and "adopt, if they can, a more decent method of gaining a livelihood."[1] Now comes the law of Bishop Watterson ratified by Monsignor Satolli, telling saloon keepers that Catholic

[1] "And we not only direct the attention of all the pastors to the repression of this abuse (the selling of liquor on Sundays), but we also call upon them to induce such members of *their flocks* as may be engaged in the sale of liquors to

societies must not tolerate their presence. Great progress has, assuredly, been made since the days when saloon keepers acted as if they were leaders and princes of the people.

No small share of opposition has been manifested in certain quarters to the decision of Monsignor Satolli, and considerable efforts have been made to distort its meaning and minimize its influence. This was to be expected. But the decision will, of its own momentum, work out its results. Time will justify its wisdom and secure for its illustrious author the grateful blessings of religion and of society.

Reply to objections.

One view taken by hostile critics of the decision should, perhaps, be noticed on account of the notoriety which it has received through certain sections of the press. The real point in the letter of Monsignor Satolli is, we are told, the refusal to set aside an order promulgated by a bishop; the Delegate simply

abandon as soon as they can the dangerous traffic, and to embrace a more becoming way of gaining a livelihood." Pastoral Letter of the Fathers of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore.

"We admonish those Catholics who are engaged in the sale of intoxicating liquors, that they seriously consider how many and how great are the dangers and the occasions of sin which surround their avocation, however licit in itself this avocation may be. Let them adopt, if they can, a more decent method of gaining a livelihood. Let them, at least, labor with all their ability to remove occasions of sin from themselves and from others. They should sell no drink to minors, or to persons who are likely to take it to excess. They should close their saloons on Sundays; at no time should they allow within their saloons blasphemy, cursing, or obscene language. If by their fault, or coöperation, religion is dishonored, or men are led to ruin, they must know that there is in Heaven an Avenger, who will surely exact from them most severe penalties." Decrees of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore — De Societatibus ad Temperantiam Promovendam.

declines to nullify a regulation prescribed by the Bishop of Columbus for his own diocese; and hence, nothing can be deduced from the words of the decision which would imply censure upon the saloon. Such an interpretation betrays ignorance, not only of the force of a decision of an appellate court, but even of the meaning of the words in which the decision is couched. No appellate court worthy of the name, certainly not that of Monsignor Satolli, ever sustains the decision of a lower court by giving it a mere negative approval; it sustains the decision solely on the ground that the reasons alleged for it are of sufficient weight and cogency. In upholding Bishop Watterson, Monsignor Satolli necessarily judges with him that the saloon in America is a nuisance so baneful and malodorous that the Church, for her own honor, and in pursuance of her mission to foster good morals and to save souls, must make plain her condemnation of it. Moreover, the words which Monsignor Satolli uses leave no doubt as to his own mind on the subject. He says:

"Those three things expressed in the letter of the Right Reverend Bishop have the approval, not only of Catholics, but also of non-Catholics in your city; being in harmony with the laws of the Church, and seasonable and necessary to the honor of the Church, especially in Ohio."

The delegate is a man who thinks with judgment, and writes in clear, terse language; his words require no commentary; his meaning stands in need of no elucidation.

The Bishop of Columbus does not refuse to saloon keepers or liquor dealers, as such, the sacraments of the Church. The refusal of the sacraments is one of the last penalties inflicted by the Church upon her members. The threat of this penalty is seldom made to classes of men; it is reserved, rather for the individual, in retribution of his personal acts. In the tribunal of penance the saloon keeper is held responsible for what he personally does, not for what his class does; outside this tribunal, in *foro externo*, he may more easily be made to suffer from the shame which belongs to his fellows. Catholic theology does not teach that saloon keeping is, in itself, a sin. If the saloon keeper happens to be the ideal one—never selling to men who are likely to become intoxicated, never selling to minors in violation of the law of the land, never opening his saloon on Sunday, never tolerating blasphemy or obscene language at his bar, never turning his saloon into a den of unjust and injurious political machinations, in a word, observing in his business the whole law, civil and divine—he may be absolved and admitted to communion. Further than this, Bishop Watterson does not let him pass. Saloon keeping, the Bishop decides, is, as a rule, an evil occupation; over it hangs a heavy cloud of social and religious disgrace; even the ideal saloon keeper cannot rid himself of its shame, and upon him, as upon his whole class, the Church frowns in anger and sorrow, and from Catholic gatherings and

Catholic theology and the saloon.

Evils of the American saloon.

the saloon or its equivalent ... matters may be better or wors ferent treatment.

The American saloon is resp intemperance which desolates t the physical and moral plague saloon is dealt out the drink w there temptations to use it are and multiplied. Let us waste loon *in se*, on the possible or be time enough to discuss it covered. The saloon as it exist battens upon intemperance, ar laid all the dire evils which from intemperance.

What can the Catholic Ch to her professed principles, bu position to the American sa clearly on record as its unswer

The Catholic Church doe moderate and legitimate use is a moral evil,

Catholic Church will not, and cannot have us, overlook. In her eyes intemperance is a sin, heinous and soul-wrecking, the victims of which shall not possess the kingdom of Heaven. For intemperance she has a particular hatred, accounting it a deadly sin, the prolific parent of innumerable sins. Intemperance is a malignant form of the sensual indulgence against which the Church, as the religion of the Crucified One, the religion of evangelical counsels and evangelical self-denial, is obliged to declare relentless war. The subjugation of sense, the triumph of soul over body, which comes through abstinence and the discipline of self-sacrifice, are, throughout her whole history, the predominant features in the holiness of the saints and heroes whom she holds up to us as models. Intemperance is, on the contrary, the triumph of sense over mind. In its advanced stages it completely annuls the action of the soul; even in its incipient stages it stirs passion and arms it against restraint. The Catholic Church renounces her own life and principles when she ceases to combat with all her might intemperance in its causes and alliances. The American saloon is her mortal foe; between the Church and the saloon there can be no truce.

In movements making for higher moral life, purer civic virtue, and better government in whatever appertains to temporal or spiritual happiness, where is the place of the Church of Christ if not in the van of the most advanced combatants? Where else would Christ be? Where else should be the Church

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are members of the Catholic Church. This lamentable fact has its explanation. The Catholic Church has an extensive membership among the poorer classes of the population. The servant and the laborer, the occupants of the tenement house and of the cheap hotel, are largely Catholics. They are immigrants from countries where poverty was their portion, and they do not accumulate wealth immediately on reaching our shores. The Church is not ashamed to own them; it is a divine mark of Christ's Church to preach the Gospel to the poor. But, it is plain, their lot subjects them to unusual temptations to intemperance. Fatigue of body, loneliness of mind, hardships of poverty, lead one to use the bowl that will drown sorrow and give momentary relief from the hardships of toil. The aids to sobriety, which are lent by cultured thought, cheerful hearths, elevating companionship — although even these are not always sufficient to ward off intemperance — are not the heritage of the poor. The saloon is the only clubroom open to them. No wonder that they frequently drink, and drink to excess.

Intemperance among Catholics in America.

When the poor man, who has his dreams of independence, desires to go "into business," one sort of business is always within his reach. But little capital is needed for the enterprise, and that is willingly advanced to him by the brewer, the distiller, or the ward politician, each of whom will gain in money, or votes, a hundredfold by the investment.

Some consideration is due, also, to the previous conditions and social habits of immigrants, whom we must judge from the standpoint of their own history and ideas. Catholic immigrants come from Ireland, or from countries of southern and central Europe. Irishmen bring with them a natural temperament and habits begotten of ages of political thraldom, which dispose them to the use of strong drinks and to saloon keeping. For all this the Church, assuredly, cannot be made to bear responsibility.

Immigrants from the continent of Europe had been drinking beer and wine as Americans drink tea and coffee; they had lived amid beer gardens and cafés, which are very different from our saloon. Arriving in America, they demand beer and wine, alongside of which they find in our saloons the more baneful alcoholic potions. Some among them will minister to the tastes of the others, and a substitute for the beer garden and café is opened, which from the influence of environment rapidly takes on all the worst features of the full-fledged American saloon. Immigrants and their immediate descendants grow slowly into our American ideas, and with difficulty understand the trend of public opinion, or perceive the evil tendencies of our American saloon.

We shall not deny that, as the natural result of those facts and conditions, the Church has suffered. Saloon keepers made themselves leaders among their countrymen, guided them in the novel road of American politics, and sought to represent them in religious affairs. They be-

came officials in church societies, marshals in church processions, chairmen in church meetings. They contributed liberally — as a matter of business—to church works, and paid rent for prominent pews. Catholic public opinion in regard to intemperance and to the saloon was in some degree perverted, and things were done and allowed which appear at first sight inexplicable to persons more conversant with American ideas and practices. At times, clergymen feared to offend the potent saloon keeper; they softened the tone of their denunciation of intemperance; if total abstinence was mentioned, emphasis was laid on the peril of running into the Manichean heresy — that liquor in itself is morally bad. At church fairs and picnics liquor was sold. At their annual outings religious societies kept their own bar and paid high tribute to it; at certain church fairs, punch bowls were voted to the most popular saloon keepers; Catholic papers admitted into their advertising columns paid notices of saloons and liquor stores, and, in one instance, a brewery invaded the grounds of a monastery. What was all this but an encouragement to patronize the saloon? And the saloon was patronized with a vengeance, and among Catholics intemperance was growing apace.

The Church not responsible.

The Catholic Church in America was compelled, for her own honor and in loyalty to her mission, to set herself right before the country on the saloon question. She did so emphatically in the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore; she has done

less emphatically this present year through the Bishop of Columbus and the Apostolic Delegate. The mind of the Church is manifest. Individual Catholics and Catholic societies may obey the Church, or they may adhere to their own counsels and disregard her precepts. But from the doings of those who will not hear her, no reproach will come to the Church; the Church stands on record as the determined foe of the American saloon.[1]

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[1] The position of the Catholic Church on temperance cannot be more clearly brought out than by the following letter of Leo XIII:

To Our Venerable Brother, John Ireland, Bishop of St. Paul, Minnesota.

LEO XIII, POPE.

Venerable Brother, Health and Apostolic Benediction:—The admirable works of piety and charity, by which our faithful children in the United States labor to promote not only their own temporal and eternal welfare, but also that of their fellow-citizens, and which you have recently related to us, give to us exceeding great consolation. And, above all, we have rejoiced to learn with what energy and zeal, by means of various excellent associations, and especially through the Catholic Total Abstinence Union, you combat the destructive vice of intemperance. For it is well known how ruinous, how deplorable, is the injury, both to faith and to morals, that is to be feared from intemperance in drink. Nor can we sufficiently praise the prelates of the United States, who recently, in the Plenary Council of Baltimore, with weightiest words condemned this abuse, declaring it to be a perpetual incentive to sin, and a fruitful source of all evils, plunging the families of the intemperate into direst ruin, and drawing numberless souls down to everlasting perdition; declaring, moreover, that the Faithful, who yield to this vice of intemperance, become thereby a scandal to non-Catholics, and a great hindrance to the propagation of the true religion. Hence we esteem worthy of commendation the noble resolve of those pious associations, by which they pledge themselves to abstain totally from every kind of intoxicating drink. Nor can it at all be doubted that this determination is a proper and truly efficacious remedy for this very great evil; and that so much the more strongly will all be induced to put this bridle upon appetite, by how much the

greater are the dignity and influence of those who give the example. But greatest of all in this matter should be the zeal of the priests, who, as they are called to instruct the people in the word of life, and to mould them to Christian morality, should also, and above all, walk before them in the practice of virtue. Let pastors, therefore, do their best to drive the plague of intemperance from the fold of Christ by assiduous preaching and exhortation, and to shine before all as models of abstinence; and, thus, earnestly strive to avert the many calamities with which this vice threatens both Church and state. And we most earnestly beseech Almighty God that, in this important matter, He may graciously favor your desires, direct your counsels, and assist your endeavors; and, as a pledge of the Divine protection, and a testimony of our paternal affection, we most lovingly bestow upon you, Venerable Brother, and upon all your associates in this holy league, the Apostolic Benediction.

Given at Rome, from St. Peter's, this 27th day of March, in the year 1887, the tenth year of our Pontificate.

LEO XIII, Pope.

Vide—S. D. N. Leonis Papae XIII Allocutiones, etc., vol. II.

CHARITY IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

THE following address was delivered at the thirteenth annual session of the National Conference of Charities and Correction held in St. Paul in July, 1886. The Conference, as its name indicates, is representative of organized philanthropy of all kinds. It has for its aim to enlighten the public judgment on the evils that afflict society, and to promote charitable, penal and reformatory measures by which such evils may be removed or mitigated. The scope of the Conference may be understood from the variety of topics discussed during its session of 1886. These were: the administration of poorhouses, jails, and reformatories; prison reform and preventive work; the causes of pauperism and crime; provision for the insane, for the deaf and dumb, for imbeciles; emigration and immigration; the management of hospitals; the organization of charities.

In the address on Charity in the Catholic Church, Archbishop Ireland dwelt chiefly on the spirit which underlies that charity, and which takes form in the vast variety of organizations by which the Church strives to succor suffering and reform wayward humanity.

CHARITY IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

A GREAT honor has been conferred upon me in the invitation to address this distinguished body on Charity in the Catholic Church. I beg leave to testify my high appreciation of the honor, and my admiration of the generous and broad-minded spirit in which you approach the study of charity. That spirit is all-embracing, like the spirit itself of the truest charity. You refuse your impartial attention to none of the agencies that are at work in the holy task of helping suffering humanity.

You make no mistake in numbering the Catholic Church among those agencies. By principle and tradition, she is a living source and centre of charity. The Catholic Church is nothing, if she is not charity. The vital doctrines of the Church demand works of charity as the essential evidences of inward faith. Her most loyal and devoted children are known by the consecration of will and energy to works of charity; her most glorious monuments, strewn along the course of time, and marking her passage through nations, are the homes of charity — monasteries, hospitals, asylums; the decrees of her councils, the letters of her pontiffs, the lessons of her theological and ascetic writers, all urge, command charity.

What you desire to hear from me is a brief statement of facts and teachings in the Catholic Church which bear upon the question of charity. This and nothing more is the duty of the occasion. I hold no brief; I institute no comparison; I pronounce no eulogy. I am the expounder of facts, not the champion of a cause.

Teachings of the Catholic Church on Charity.

Charity, as it is this evening understood by us, is that love of our fellow-man which induces us to sympathize with him in his sorrows, to alleviate his pains, to relieve his wants. With Christ the Catholic Church proclaims that the love of the neighbor is a precept as binding upon man as that of the love of God. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with thy whole heart, and with thy whole soul, and with thy whole mind. This is the greatest and the first commandment. And the second is like unto this; thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." The meaning of this love for the neighbor is determined by those other words of Scripture: "He that hath the substance of the world, and shall see his brother in need, and shall shut up his bowels from him, how doth the charity of God abide in him?" "Religion pure and undefiled," the Church repeats with the Apostle, St. James, "is this: to visit the fatherless and widows in their tribulation, and keep oneself unspotted from the world." The neighbor, the catechism of Catholic teaching explains, is every child of Adam, without regard to race, language, creed, or personal merit. The inheritance of our common humanity makes

every man our neighbor; and for this neighbor the child of the Catholic Church professes his love in the same formula of morning and evening prayer, in which he professes his love for God: "O my God, I love Thee above all things . . . and I love my neighbor as myself for the love of Thee." And from his earliest years the child of the Catholic Church has been taught by his catechism that the works evidencing his love for the neighbor are: "To feed the hungry, to give drink to the thirsty, to clothe the naked, to ransom the captive, to harbor the harborless, to visit the sick, to bury the dead." This constant inculcation of the precept of charity by the Church must needs produce among Catholics abundant living fruits of charity.[1]

Motives that animate Catholic charity.

In all her teaching, the Church lays the strongest emphasis upon the supernatural motives that should animate charity. She issues no dry, formal command to perform works of charity. For her the practice of charity is the hopeful sign of predestination, the forerunner of divine clemency and grace, the title to heavenly glory. In the supreme judgment

[1] Charity to the poor and sick was, from the dawn of Christianity, the practical evidence of religion. "The offerings at the communion were considered a part of worship. The Church at Rome had under its care a great multitude of widows, orphans, blind, lame, and sick, whom the deacon Laurentius, in the Decian persecution, showed to the heathen prefect, as the most precious treasures of the Church. 'It is incredible' says Lucian, 'to see the ardor with which the people of that religion help each other in their wants. They spare nothing. Their first legislator has put into their heads that they are all brethren.'" Vide Schaff: "History of the Christian Church," Vol. II, pp. 374, 375.

the just shall be rewarded because when the Lord was hungry they gave Him to eat, when He was thirsty they gave Him to drink, when He was in prison they came to visit Him; and the reprobate shall be driven from the presence of the Judge, because their record has no mention of those deeds of charity. Charity to the neighbor is endued with the highest value to which a human act may lay claim. It is the tribute of pure, disinterested, personal love from the redeemed to the Redeemer. In the poor and sick, Christ appears personified. Their own merits or demerits are lost to view; their faces shine with the beauty of Christ; their needs are the needs of Christ; their words of gratitude are the words of Christ: "Amen, I say unto you, as long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it to me."[1]

These supernatural motives are the secure foundation of works of charity in the Catholic Church.

The personification of Christ in suffering humanity invests all forms of misery with a divine halo; the hearts of Christians, believing in this personification, are drawn to the poor with power, which they dare not resist, under penalty of refusing tender love to the Babe of Bethlehem and the Saviour of Calvary. Those of you who may have read something of Catholic hagiology are aware that the conviction of

[1] "It is in the impulse given to practical beneficence in all its forms by the exaltation of love as the root of all virtues that the most important influence of Christianity on the particulars of civilized morality is to be found."—Sidgwick, "History of Ethics," p. 121.

The Christian word for beneficence is charity, which means love—love for God and love for neighbor, having the same principle, are equally called charity.

this identification of Christ with the destitute and the suffering has sunk most deeply into Catholic tradition, and completely colors the Catholic sentiment of charity. Martin, the Roman soldier, meeting on the roadside a beggar shivering from cold, takes his mantle from his shoulders, cuts it in twain, and with one half clothes the beggar. The following night, his biographer narrates, he sees in vision Christ the Lord, one half of Martin's garment wrapped around His sacred limbs. St. Elizabeth of Hungary, in her self-forgetting zeal, nurses a leper upon the couch of the Landgrave Louis, her husband. The Landgrave is told of the occurrence, and hastens in rage to the palace. But, as he lifts the coverlet, his eyes are dazzled, the legend says, with the brightness of Christ's own countenance. St. Jane de Chantal, the daughter of a princely house of France, was wont to speak to the poor with the reverence due to sovereigns; in them, she declared, she beheld the King of kings.

Charity organised in the Church.

The Catholic Church aims to render her action consistent with her teaching; she supports her teaching with the forces of a powerful organization. She not only inculcates the duty and value of charity, she officially urges the practice of it, prepares the way for it, organizes it. The priest in his parish, the bishop in his diocese, the sovereign Pontiff in the whole Church, each is, by virtue of his position, the father of the poor, the consoler of the afflicted. What he cannot do personally, he is bound, so far as

circumstances permit, to have done by others. The Church in her entire organization, with her ten thousand centres of activity, and the manifold engines of power which she controls, is committed to charity, and makes of the works of charity the evidences of her divine life, and her titles to the respect of the world. Suffering anywhere and everywhere is her golden opportunity. She seeks it out; she rejoices when she has found it, and bends herself at once to the task of relieving it with all the glad hopefulness of the tried warrior stepping into the field of battle, upon which each successive appearance has been the signal that fresh laurels shall decorate his brow. Her ambition is to earn for herself as she passes down the ages, this record — she has passed by, doing good.

Charity in Catholic countries.

But, however high her ideal of charity, or however resolute her will to realize that ideal, it is not to be presumed that all the children of the Church are possessed of true charity. Individual will remains free to obey or to resist; and there will be many who will bear the name, but who will be strangers to the spirit, of the Church; there will be many who will give only partial loyalty to her teachings. However, due allowance being made for the shortcomings of human nature, great charitable works must and do exist, in times and places where Catholic action has unfettered play. Immense sums are disbursed in alms-deeds. Asylums, schools, reformatories, are multiplied. Each centre of Catholic life is made a centre of charitable institutions. He

who has visited with observant eye a Catholic city or a Catholic country, be he a friend or a foe of the Church, be he convinced, if you will, that he has found in other matters a hundred subjects for blame and scorn, will, I am quite sure, bear me out in what I am saying of Catholic charity. I will name but the city of Rome. A traveler, Rev. John Chetwode Eustace, writes of charity in that city: "No country exhibits more splendid examples of public benevolence or furnishes more affecting instances of private charity. She has the honorable advantage of surpassing all the kingdoms of Europe in the number and magnificence of her charitable foundations. To describe these in detail would require a separate work of considerable extent; and it will be sufficient to inform the reader that there is no disease of body, no distress of mind, no visitation of Providence, to which the human form is liable, from its first appearance till its final deposition in the grave, which is not relieved with tenderness, and provided for, if beyond relief, with a prodigality of charity seldom witnessed elsewhere."[1]

From my own observation of the charities of the city of Rome, I can say these words are literally true. It would be impossible to name a want for which provision has not been made in Rome. To protect helpless infancy and provide for decrepit age, to shield the innocent from temptation and bring back the fallen to virtue, to spare the blushes

[1] "Tour through Italy." Vide also: "Rome, its Rulers and its Institutions," by John Francis Maguire.

of shrinking poverty, to assist the exertions of struggling merit and repair the broken fortunes of honest but unsuccessful industry, to afford consolation and relief to the sick, the prisoner, and the dying, and secure the honors of Christian burial for the dead — such are the leading objects, branching out into a thousand details, of the comprehensive charity of Rome.[1]

Heroic charity in the Church.

Heroic charity abounds in the Catholic Church. I mean that charity which cheerfully sacrifices life in the service of the neighbor. The missionary embarking for the island of Molokai to spend himself in the service of the lepers, certain beforehand that the loathsome disease shall one day spread itself over his own body; the Sisters leaving their New York convent, at a moment's notice, to make their home on the island in the East River, where smallpox patients await their care; the priest rushing headlong amid shot and shell to whisper the words of absolution into the ears of the dying soldier — scenes of this kind are common in the Catholic Church. No one wonders at them — the marvel would be if they did not exist.

The Church organizes charity. Organization, establishing unity of action amid number, is, in every sphere of work, the means to great and enduring success. Of this fact the Catholic Church, herself a great and powerful organization, is fully conscious;

[1] For the Catholic Charities of Paris, vide Maxime du Camp: "La Charité privée à Paris."

and her custom is to seek results through minor organizations, modeled somewhat after herself, and governed by her own supreme power.

As through history, so in the world to-day, whenever a work of charity is to be performed, an evil, moral or physical, to be combated, a battalion of devoted persons, men or women as the case may warrant, springs up—if one suited to the emergency is not already in existence—thoroughly disciplined, animated by the highest motives, and with an eye single to the purpose in view. I speak of the religious orders in the Church. You have read their names in story and legend; you have seen their members moving through the streets of our cities, with odd dress and demure manner. I will tell you the secret spring that controls and maintains those organizations.

Their members have spoken before the altar three vows, binding for life, of virginity, poverty, and obedience. By these vows they are fitted for and confined to their vocation. They are free from all family ties and obligations; they are free from all care of worldly things, from all desire of worldly advancement, from all promptings of selfish interest. Their time, their love, is undivided, all going into the service of God and of the neighbor. Poor themselves by choice, they love those who are poor from necessity; and the poor love them, knowing well what sacrifices have been made by them. Belonging by birth and association to all classes of society, often to the highest, they are the intermediaries between

rich and poor, drawing from one class to relieve the other, and bringing all classes into mutual contact and love, fusing all hearts by the warmth of their own into one brotherhood. Obedience—which is, however, limited by the terms of the rule of each community, and which never, as the world sometimes supposes, entails the surrender of conscience—gives unity of direction to the energies of all, putting each one into the right place, obtaining movement at the right time, with the order, precision, and certainty of the best drilled armies. Each religious order is an entity in itself, having its own rule and government. All of them are subject, beyond their own immediate superiors, to the chief Governor of the Church, and under him, with certain well-defined limitations, to the heads of dioceses. The three vows are common to all orders. Special details in the rules, special training of the members, secure adaptability for the special work assigned to each.

The source of its inspiration.

Whence the high and holy courage of these soldiers of charity? For courage is needed to leave homes and lands, to close the soul to the visions of earthly happiness that rise unbidden before the fancy of youth. Courage is needed to bind one's self to the perpetual, disinterested service of beings whom the world deems repulsive, and whom it rejects from its presence. This courage comes from faith. Such courage, gold could not purchase, glory could not inspire. I know our religious orders well. Their cloisters are familiar to me. I see their works

daily. I receive often, in the name of the Church, the vows of strong men, of timid maidens; and, you may believe me, but one motive brings them to the convent, but one motive holds them to their work—the love of their Saviour. I do not ignore or despise the social, economic, or humanitarian grounds upon which charity may be made to rest; but, when I desire, in its name, great sacrifices, I place the human heart upon the wings of faith, sending it upward even to the throne of the Immaculate Lamb, and it returns burning with His love, strong with His strength; and all things are then possible to it. May we never permit the divorce of charity from Christian faith! Man is, by himself, a sorry object; and, if we behold in the poor, the sick and the prisoner but man alone, we will not love him, we will not serve him. Charity is to-day widespread because Christian faith permeates our civilization, forms our thoughts, and directs our feelings. There are those who profess to set aside religion. They cannot divest themselves of its power; they breathe, despite themselves, its invigorating atmosphere. There was a time when there was no charity. There was a time when, whatever the power of Roman soldiers to subject nations, whatever the power of Cæsar to build palaces—in their magnificence the wonder of all succeeding generations—whatever might be the eloquence of Roman orators and the wisdom of Roman philosophers, a conference of charities would have been impossible. It was a time when the fashionable philosophy declared pity for the unfortunate

to be weakness, a vice; when the maimed and the aged were by imperial edict consigned to watery graves. It was the time of Paganism, before the love of Christ and the faith of Christ had come to save the children of men.[1]

I do not know the names of all the Catholic religious orders; it would require a long time to repeat them if I did know them. Suffice it to say that there does not exist an ill for the relief of which a religious order has not been created. When African corsairs carried off Christians into slavery, the Order of Trinitarians arose, whose work was the redemption of captives, the monk being obliged by his vow to take upon himself, if necessary, the captive's chains, and emancipate his fellow man at the price of his own liberty. On the summit of the Alps, where the air is so rarefied that a few years exhaust a life, the monk of St. Bernard has reared his hospice to save the unfortunate wayfarer from the death-dealing avalanche. The Brother of St. John

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[1] "How can you possibly let yourself down so low as not to repel a poor man from you with scorn?" asks a rhetorician of a rich man in the imperial times of Rome. (Quintilian: Decl. 301). Seneca observes that most men fling an alms to a beggar with repugnance and carefully avoid all contact with him. (De Clem. v. 6).

It was the glory of Athens that she alone had raised a solitary altar to Pity. But what a distance between Pity in the ideal and the practical work of clothing the naked and feeding the hungry! "No one of the thousands of rich men living in Rome," says Geikie ("Life of Christ," chap. ii), "ever conceived the notion of founding an asylum for the poor or a hospital for the sick." With Christ "for the first time the aureole of sanctity encircled the brow of sorrow and invested it with a mysterious charm." Lecky: "History of European Rationalism," Vol. I, p. 266.

of God, the Brother of St. Alexius, tend in the hospital the sick of their own sex. The Sister of Charity, the Sister of St. Joseph, take under their charge hospitals and orphanages. The Sister of the Good Shepherd consecrates her own pure heart in love for the unfortunate outcast of society. The Little Sister of the Poor gathers around her the aged poor, and feeds them tenderly with the fruits of her begging, her rule not permitting her to eat until the children, as the old people are lovingly called, have had their fill; and then, if nothing remains, she fasts until Providence comes to the rescue. The Sister of Bon Secours nurses the poor sick in their own cottages. The Little Sister of the Working People looks after children and women employed in factories, and encourages among them habits of piety and thrift.

Sweetness and tenderness of Catholic charity.

The spirit of Catholic charity secures in the service of man what is most valuable and most difficult to be obtained — the sweetness and tenderness of love. It is not bread or medicine that is most prized by the indigent and sick: it is the smile, the soft caress, the kind, hopeful word. The heart rather than the mouth must be fed; the soul rather than the body must be warmed. All this is done without effort, and done with exquisite delicacy, when the heart of the laborer is in the work. The Catholic brother and sister are inspired by love. They could not endure the religious life unless the heart were all on fire with love; love streams from

the heart, and ignites all hearts coming within the circle of its influence. We have read in military annals how the dying soldier fancied a mother or a sister to be standing over him, as the daughter of St. Vincent bade him confide in the Saviour of Calvary, and poured refreshing drops upon his parched lips. The Little Sister of the Poor lifts her finger, and a hundred querulous and quarrelsome old men and women are silent and respectful, while they would be unmanageable before a platoon of police. The mere rustling of a gown of a Good Shepherd nun spreads the fragrance of heavenly purity amid a crowd of poor creatures from whose souls the chilling blasts of horrid sin had seemed to drive all vestige of the divine image. And why should not these things be? Love is ever the conqueror. I read a few days ago in one of our papers that, at the late annual exhibition of pictures in the Palais de l'Industrie at Paris, one by Cabanel attracted universal attention, and crowds of spectators remained still, as fixed to the ground, before it. It was the portrait of the foundress of the Little Sisters of the Poor. The costume was austere, unbeautiful; but the face—"it was," said the critic, "an inspired work of art, one might say of faith; for seldom has the beauty of divine love and humility and self-sacrifice been more vividly and delicately expressed than in this portrait of the humble woman who from heroic charity conceived the idea of helping the poorest of the poor by begging for them, day by day, 'the crumbs from the rich man's table.'" The

picture but faintly represents the living beauty of love and faith which daily walks and works amid our hospitals, asylums, and refuges.

There is economy, too, in Catholic charity. The sister receives for herself food and clothing. Her vow denies her all but the necessaries of life. She feels for the poor; and, for their sake, she has learned to waste nothing. The rich give to her willingly. They recognize that she has no profit of her own from their gifts, and that the needy will be the sole beneficiaries.

Economy and skill in Catholic charity.

There is in Catholic charity the skill which comes from special training and long experience. The sister is bound by her vows for her whole life. Her whole life is spent in the exercise of charity. Nor is the lesson of experience confined to the lifetime of the individual. The whole order is as one being, receiving knowledge from many countries, and storing up for the benefit of each member the treasures of experience accumulated through generations. And, finally, Catholic charity gives permanency to all its works. However active and intelligent the zeal of an individual may be, he dies; and his influence dies with him. An organization endures; the individual drops from the ranks—his place is quickly filled; there is no interruption in the task of mercy.

I should add that, besides the vow-bound orders of charity in the Catholic Church—these are her regular army—there are volunteer associations of

charity, composed of men and women, the married and the unmarried, who, without leaving the ordinary walks of life, band themselves into associations of various kinds, to give to them what time their occupations may allow. Chief among these is the admirable Society of St. Vincent of Paul, branches of which exist wherever the Church herself is found, and whose mission it is to visit and relieve the poor in their homes. The society of St. Vincent has received high ecclesiastical approval. I make mention of it in order to call attention to two very prominent features in its rules, features which are, indeed, main characteristics of all forms of Catholic charity. The one is that the end of all charity is to elevate the recipient, and ultimately save him, if at all possible, from his helplessness. The accusation has been made that Catholic charity is reckless in its ardor, and perpetuates poverty by encouraging idleness and improvidence. No accusation could be more false, more groundless. The other feature of the work of the society of St. Vincent de Paul is that it insists upon personal service as essential to charity. We do not fulfill our duty by paying a tax to the State or by sending to a committee an annual subscription, leaving to the State or the committee to stand proxy for us, and neglecting to come, ourselves, into contact with the poor. Charity is love for the victim of sorrow, and love demands personal attention. It is the mission of Christian charity to benefit both the giver and the receiver; and, indeed,

St. Vincent de Paul Society.

the one who is the more benefited is the giver, whose nature is softened, refined, by the exercise of the virtue, in whose heart pride and egotism are annihilated by the sight of suffering and misery among his fellow-men. It is this personal element in charity that will prevent the estrangement of classes in society, and will save us from the total social disruption with which we are threatened in these times.

The Catholic Church has not yet had the time nor the opportunity to build up as fully as she would desire her charities in America. Still, she has not been idle. There is no city without her institutions, no village without an official representative of her charity. She will do more in the future, for freedom of expansion is allowed her by our generous laws and the noble spirit of the people. She will watch carefully over her own works. At the same time, she will bless all other agencies of charity and counsel her children to coöperate with them. The field is broad; there is room for many workers. The consideration of the labors of others will fire our emulation to do as well as they; and the spirit of love for the neighbor, which inspires us all, will lead us to love one another most sincerely, and to rejoice in all the good that is done, as our Heavenly Father above rejoices in it.

SOCIAL PURITY.

AMONG the many congresses held in connection with the Columbian Exposition was one on Social Purity. It was attended by representatives of various organizations having for their purpose the protection of innocence and the succor of victims of vice and misfortune. Archbishop Ireland was invited to deliver a discourse on Social Purity.

The associations represented at the Congress rely chiefly on private philanthropy and public authority in combating the evil which, perhaps, more than any other, imperils the best interests of society. There is room for such auxiliaries in the battle with vice. It is true, now as ever before, that it is religion that will "save the people from their sins"—grace given through prayer and sacrament is the strength of the individual soul in the war against sensuality; and the "assimilating and attractive influence of a perfect ideal"—the gradual approximation to the character of Christ—will continue to insure moral development in society; but it is no less true that, in its crusade against vice, religion will eagerly welcome as her ally every organization that enlists the generosity of private benevolence and the influence of public authority in defense of virtue. Religion recognizes her own best instincts in the zeal of philanthropy that guards defenseless innocence and lifts up the discrowned and dejected.

SOCIAL PURITY.

THE highest evidence of the civilization of a people and of its practical Christianity is social purity. Civilization is the emancipation of the human being from animalism, and his enthronement upon the elevated plane of rational life. The strongest hold that animalism has upon the race lies in carnal passion. The conquest of this passion, the reduction of it under the laws of reason, is the supreme act of the spiritual power in man. The religion of Christ at once differentiates itself from all other religions, present and past, in demanding the complete triumph of the spiritual over the animal in man. Its moral standard is divine in its exaltation, worthy to have come from the home of the angels. The founder of a human religion dependent for its extension upon human sympathies and human aids, would never have dared to base his moral code upon the taking up of the cross and the nailing to it of all concupiscence. So zealous was Christ for purity that He wreathed His own personality in its most translucent beauty, holy virginity. He was born of a virgin mother, and He lived a virgin. The two noblest Christian ideals, Christ, divinity incarnate, and Mary, humanity sublimated into maternal relation with the

High moral standard of Christianity.

divinity, were virgins; and so elevating has been the influence of those sublime ideals, Christ and Christ's mother, that all Christian ages have witnessed the voluntary consecration of heroic men and women to perpetual virginity.

The effect of the practice of purity in its heroic form is to emphasize the sacredness and the import-

Sacredness of wedlock.

ance of purity under its more usual form in legitimate wedlock. How grand and noble is the teaching of Christ regarding marriage! He declares it a divine institution. He assigns to it a divine purpose: to guard the sanctuaries of life and to coöperate in the creative act of God. He makes it the union of one man with one woman, and consecrates this union with sacramental blessing. With His omnipotent authority He sets upon it the seal of indissolubility, and with divine jealousy He shields its rights and dignity.

Christ enjoins virginity outside the contract of marriage, and all violation of the vows of this contract He forbids under most severe penalties. Christ condemns impurity in thought and in desire, as well as impurity in act. His avenging pursuit of sin, in man or woman, reaches into the most hidden recesses of the soul. The moral elevation of the teaching of Christ demonstrates that His doctrine is from Heaven, and makes manifest to the world Heaven's abiding interest in social purity.

The superiority of the Christian civilization over all others is chiefly due to the elevated standard of its morality; the visible manifestation of this

superiority appears in the position of the Christian woman. In prechristian civilization woman was a slave, without honor or rights, the mere toy of passion. What else could she be when the ideal woman was a Venus? In the Christian civilization the pure virgin of Nazareth, from whom God Incarnate was born, became the ideal woman, and in Mary all womanhood was elevated. Henceforward woman was queen of the home, and as the Christian religion grew in power, so grew the dignity of womanhood in influence and in the respect awarded to it. The hope of pure morals, the hope of high civilization is stainless womanhood; and all woman's power for good comes from her purity and the love of purity which she has been able to foster and maintain in the world around her. With the decay of social purity woman's reign declines, and the Christian home gives place to the harem or the house of sin; with the degradation of woman civilization perishes.

Christianity elevates womanhood.

The dignity, the importance of social purity, gives the measure of the value of work which aims to preserve and defend it. There is room for this work. I have outlined the Christian ideal; I could tell at length the blessed fruits produced by it in our own days and country, as well as whenever and wherever the truths of the Christian religion are preached. But my present purpose is to show the difficulties with which social purity must contend in widening the scope of its influence, and in

Objections against work for social purity.

the blessedness of its reign. And here let me answer objections which are usually raised against work in favor of social purity.

Must evil always be?

The moral pessimist argues that evil is and will be, and that we but lose our time in combating it. In my reply I shall not speak as an optimist. We are not able, and therefore cannot hope to eradicate all sin from poor humanity. But this I will say, that in the tide of evil there is ebb or flow according as barriers are raised against or let down before its waters. The good book says: "Strive for justice for thy soul, and even unto death fight for justice, and God will overthrow thy enemies for thee." This is the law of action for all who love virtue, for all who love God and neighbor. The Saviour came to stem the tide of evil; we are His followers; we should be His imitators. Pessimism is the creed of cowards. In the inaction of its despair it would give up the world to evil, and evil is ever prompt to profit by the despair and inaction of its opponents. No effort is ever made for good that does not bear fruit, and no such effort is ever made that does not bless him who makes it, by rendering him strong of the strength he imparts to others, and by pouring upon his soul the heavenly blessings which are always the reward of noble zeal.

An objection is made by professed Christians, made, strange as it may seem, in the name of religion. Social purity, they say, is distinctively a virtue of the skies, born of religion and nurtured

by the graces of religion. They would have the battle for purity fought by prayer and religious ministrations; they look upon the efforts of the men and women gathered in this Congress as so much profane work, necessarily unavailing, because outside of supernatural lines. I shall not, assuredly, deny the efficacy of divine grace in the transforming of souls, nor shall I cease to invoke in behalf of our holy crusade the aids and comforts of religion. But, to place all reliance on the supernatural, and to dispense with all human means, is to ignore religion itself, which teaches that men must do their full share by the human means at their disposal before God is willing to interpose His divine action. It is God's law that we must do all that nature is capable of, before we may expect supernatural help.

Grace and nature must combat evil.

The agents of impurity labor energetically and continuously, and we should not relinquish the world to them and take refuge in the recesses of the sanctuary. This is not the will of the Lord, who, when he put Moses on the hilltop to pray, placed Aaron in the plain to fight.

Over-sensitive friends of purity urge an objection. Purity, they say, sensitive as the tender bloom on the petals of the rose, delicate as the transparent softness of the morning's dewdrops, shrinks from exposure, and is tarnished amid the turmoil of discussion and public movement. Impurity, vileness itself, must pollute whatever comes nigh to it; the purest tongues

No danger in working for social purity.

are sullied by speaking of it, and the purest hands are defiled by contact with it. The logical effect of this objection would be to abandon the world to impurity. God does not intend that this should be done. Nor is there reason to apprehend danger so long as holy thoughts preside over counsels, and prudence directs labors in aid of purity. The hand stretched out to save a fellow-being is ever sustained by God, and the mind planning to avert danger from him and bring him to salvation is ever guarded by the Master and Redeemer.

Wiles and activity of impurity.

Impurity is widespread. It is corrupting bodies and damning souls; it is ruining homes and degrading women; it is turning hecatombs of human beings into depraved and ferocious animals, and threatening society with a reversion to the public and nameless immoralities of paganism. We need not wonder at the appalling prevalence of impurity when so much is done by the enemies of purity, and so little by its friends and champions. Evil is always bold and daring; goodness, too often, is timid and retiring. The need of the hour is armed and aggressive virtue.

See the wiles and activity of impurity. The popular literature of the day is largely subservient to it. Novels exhaling its stygian stench burden news stands and fill book agents' baskets. Papers teeming with salaciousness obtain readers by the hundreds of thousands, and drive decent publications out of the market. Painting and sculpture, whose mission it should be to elevate and ennoble the mind by symbol-

izing the best deeds and highest ideals of humanity, reveal the human form with insidious suggestiveness. Theatrical posters, displayed in prominent streets and squares of cities, are to our young people unmistakeable object-lessons in lasciviousness, and the stage, which might be one of the most useful interpreters of wisdom and virtue, is not unfrequently made to pander to lowest passions. Cultured society, unconsciously, perhaps, but not less effectively, frequently serves the interests of vice by its dances, and its fashions in feminine attire. Public opinion is debased; virtue, it is thought, is sufficiently avenged when a fallen woman is declared an outcast; but the man who compassed her ruin is the welcome visitor in club and drawing-room. Laws against open immorality are a dead letter. Tempters to sin promenade our streets; homes of iniquity flaunt their wickedness before the public gaze; orgies born of demoniac fancies riot in public halls with the avowed connivance of the police. Vice sets itself up as a profession under fictitious titles through which the purpose is easily read, and advertises itself in the columns of our newpapers. Base men and women go around entrapping unwary girlhood into a life of shame; procurers and procuresses are constantly prowling like jackals in search of human bodies to cast them as prey to cruel lust.

Laws protect sin. In many states the child of ten or twelve years is presumed to be old enough to barter away her innocence, and her seducer cannot be convicted of crime. The effrontery of vice attempts

to go farther: it dares to demand that infamy be officially licensed, that the unfortunate woman be stamped with the badge of professional vice, and that the partner in her iniquity be protected by the law of the land from the consequences of his evil-doing. Nor in the enumeration of sin's agencies can I overlook the degradation of medical science in holding out to woman the promise to free her from motherhood, and that of the legal profession in obtaining, under flimsiest pretenses, the sundering of the marriage bond.

The champions of purity.

I have pictured in barest outline the war waged against purity. The miseries, the sins of impurity I shall not attempt to rehearse. But I shall ask: Can we in loyalty to our conscience and to God stand idly by, saying nothing and doing nothing? I confess that the apathy of Christians in regard to social purity is a mystery. I hail with delight the dawn of an awakening. I hail the laborers who, often misunderstood and always with but slight encouragement, have entered the field. I name with fullest appreciation the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, and other devoted women who establish homes into which the sorrowing victims of sin may be received; the courageous members of the White Cross Society and of the National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity, who in the ordinary pathways of society speak and work for purity; brave men, like Anthony Comstock, who prosecute before the tribunals of the land the venders of

obscene literature; noble-hearted women, like Mrs. Josephine Butler, who, in the name of womanhood, utter bravely-spoken protests against the legalizing of licentiousness. I hail with hope and delight this present Congress; I thank the courageous man, Aaron M. Powell, who has organized it; I pray that its counsels be productive of beneficial and enduring results.

What may be done.

The chief result which I would have come from our Congress is a general awakening of a sense of duty to promote social purity. This awakening once secured, special plans and methods of work will easily suggest themselves. I might, however, indicate a few lines of action which seem to me to demand our particular attention. The sale and distribution of immoral literature is working immense harm. I do not mean by immoral literature books that are obtrusively and thoroughly obscene; from those the public eye shrinks in horror; I mean the immoral novel, the weekly paper, which in their stories and descriptions of society pander to passion. The news companies dealing in such publications ought to be put under a strict boycott and persistently denounced to public indignation. No efforts should be spared to bring before the bar of public justice, men who betray innocent girls to their ruin. For the infamous procurer no penalty too severe can be imagined. It is a terrible commentary on our civilization and our laws that the kidnapping and enslaving of girlhood is possible among us. To our eternal disgrace this kidnapping, under various forms

and pretenses, is taking place throughout the country.

Protective measures.

Preventive measures, in the form of aid and encouragement to poor and unprotected girls, demand most serious attention from philanthropist and Christian. The great majority of unfortunate women have come to ruin through the untoward circumstances in which they had been placed. Poverty is the great temptation. Bright, honorable girls are compelled to work for wages insufficient to feed and clothe them; their life, amid toil and struggle, is cheerless and disheartening; their opportunities for recreation of any kind are few and beset with temptations which the most virtuous hearts are weak to resist. I know of no greater social charity than that which busies itself in aiding and protecting defenseless young women.

Next in importance to protecting the innocent is rescuing the unfortunate one who is willing to tread again the pathways of virtue. The world, the good religious world is cruel to her. We pass her by disdainfully and pitilessly, oblivious of what we might have done had we lived under the pressure of even lesser temptations than those to which she has been subjected. For her we have no cheering word of hope, no welcome back to righteousness, no offer of honorable livelihood. What can she do but fall back into a life of misery and despair? Homes there are for repentant Magdalens in our cities; but they are few, out of proportion to the need, and ill-supported.

The most strenuous efforts should be made, wherever the necessity exists, to raise to a reasonable standard the age of consent. It is inexplicable to me that, in legislative halls of several of our states, men, honorable in purpose, themselves fathers and brothers, should deliver over to passion, not only girlhood, but even childhood, by refusing to mete out proper punishment upon the criminal seducer. Let efforts also be made, where needful, to oppose all enactments recognizing and licensing immorality. Such enactments, by making impurity legally licit, seem to make it in the eyes of men morally licit; they seem to set a premium upon sensual indulgence by protecting it and eliminating some of its dire results; they degrade fearfully unhappy women by stamping upon them the abiding seal of shame and making escape from sin almost impossible. Such enactments are an insult to all womanhood, even to the purest and the best; you cannot degrade one woman in her womanly instincts without degrading the whole sex. The results of licensing immorality are the deterioration of the public moral sense, and the creation of a female slavery, the like of which has never been equaled in the story of human servitude.

Appeal to all allies.

In the war which I would see waged in defense of social purity, I address my most earnest appeal to women. In the spread of immorality woman suffers more than man; upon her the slavery, the degradation falls more heavily. Can it be that the women of the land will not rise in indignation to ward off polluted hands from so many

young girls who, under our very eyes, are entrapped and sold into the service of sin, or who are regretfully compelled to endure this dire slavery because of poverty and the pressure of their surroundings? Whatever alterations for the better have of late years taken place in public opinion and in legislation, regarding social purity, are to be attributed almost entirely to women. In their hands is the guardianship of private and public morals.

What special lines of thought and action the deliberations and resolutions of the Congress shall follow, it is not my province to indicate. That, the united wisdom of the members must decide. All methods, in themselves legitimate, shall be welcomed by me and shall receive my heartiest coöperation. When a giant evil stalks through the land I call for allies from all quarters, whatever be the arms they wield, or whatever the organization in which they are enrolled. Each and every one of them will do something to weaken and defeat the enemy, and this is the end we are seeking. I have said that I invoke the energies of men and women. I now say I invoke the energies of people of all forms of Christian belief, and of people who, if not Christians, yet have at heart the interests of sound morals and of good citizenship. In our present conditions it is useless to hope that public opinion can be affected and public dangers repelled, unless we marshal all our forces and, acting as one people, present a solid front against the most terrible enemy of religion and of society.

AMERICA IN FRANCE.

IN June, 1892, Archbishop Ireland, while on his journey homeward from Rome, stayed for a few days in Paris. A committee of the leading men of that city urged him to make a public address on what they termed "Choses d'Amérique." The committee consisted of the following gentlemen: MM. E. Melchior de Vogüé, George Picot, Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, Albert de Mun, Henri Lorin, and Max Leclerc.

So unique an invitation Archbishop Ireland did not feel justified in declining, and, on the evening of June 18th, he delivered an address in the Hall of the Geographical Society. The address was of an altogether informal character—the distractions of a brief and busy sojourn in Paris precluded the possibility of a prepared discourse. The audience numbered about twelve hundred ladies and gentlemen, admitted by special card of invitation, and composed of the *élite* of the city of Paris. It included diplomats, journalists, authors, clergymen, senators, military officers, ambassadors to the French Government, and many distinguished ladies.

Archbishop Ireland, as became a stranger in France, purposed to speak only of America and of the Church in America. Events of the moment,

however, rendered that subject one of intense interest to the French people.

Four months before, the Holy Father had in an Encyclical to French Catholics counseled the recognition of the Republic. It is needless here to recall what commotion that letter produced through the length and breadth of France. Many Catholics had come to identify Church and Monarchy, in the hereditary conviction that the interests of religion were safe only in the keeping of kingly hands. To recognize the Republic seemed to them almost tantamount to abjuring the faith and abandoning Catholic traditions. In an interview with the correspondent of the *Petit Journal*, the Pope had pointed to the United States as proof that under a republican form of government true liberty for the Church is quite compatible with true liberty for the citizen. In America, Church and State "agree perfectly well, as they ought to agree everywhere, on the condition that the one does not infringe the rights of the other. That which is suitable to the United States is suitable also, and even more so, to France." These words of Leo XIII turned the attention of France to the relations between Church and State in America, and incidentally aroused much interest in what an American bishop would have to say concerning the position of the Church in his country.

This is not the place to inquire into the effects of the discourse delivered in the circumstances described; certain it is that the interest which the address, with its emphasis upon the harmony of

Church and State in America, and its profession of unreserved loyalty to republican institutions, aroused, was widespread and profound. This is shown by the fact that the discourse, informal as it was in character, was published in all the papers in France, and reproduced in the leading journals of other countries. It is for this reason, and in order to commemorate an important occasion, that the address, although possessing nothing that is new, and but little that is interesting, for the American reader, is inserted in this volume. As here presented it is a translation of the report of the stenographer of the *Univers*.

Le Vicomte de Vogüé introduced Archbishop Ireland to the audience.

AMERICA IN FRANCE.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—You do me a great honor this evening in giving me your attention. I will take back to my distant American home a sweet and lasting memory of this scene. It is for me a privilege which I deeply appreciate to make a public address before so distinguished an audience in the capital of France. I am well aware that the gentlemen who invited me to speak, who are now seated on this platform, are men whose names are the glory of France; I am well aware that my audience is the intellectual *élite* of the city of Paris.

I must, however, confess that I dread the responsibility of the occasion. How can I do justice to my theme? How can I worthily respond to your expectations? In the midst of the distractions of a hurried passage through your city I could not even attempt to gather thoughts that might be of interest to my distinguished hearers, or to clothe those thoughts in words that would not be wholly unworthy of the occasion. I speak to-night in a language to which I am long unaccustomed. There was, indeed, a time, when your language was familiar to my ears, when I spoke it by day, and dreamed in it by night; that time is long gone by, and now

my tongue no longer knows the music of your accents.

All that I promise this evening is a plain and simple talk on the United States of America. I will tell of things as they occur to my mind; I will give expression, as best I can, to the feelings that stir my heart; and I shall be amply rewarded if, when I have done, I may believe that I have not taxed your patience too severely.

Of the United States, and of the United States only, will I speak.

Monsieur de Vogüé has been so good as to say that I am in some measure a child of France. I thank Monsieur de Vogüé for this compliment. Yes; please take me to be in some measure a child of France. I rejoice to believe that I am her child in not a few fibres of my being. In her schools the years of my youth were passed. France is largely the mother of my ideas, and much of my heart has always belonged to her. Whenever during the years of mature life I step again upon the soil of France, my soul grows young. I am back to the land of my youth.

For myself, I love France, because I have known her anear. But who could not love France, the country of exalted ideas and of generous sacrifices? In peace and in war France has during ages done battle for honor, for religion, for all that lifts up and ennobles the soul. At no epoch of history could France be spared from the moral, the intellectual or the religious world.

A citizen of the United States speaking of America will never be a stranger in France. To France America owes her freedom; to France this evening I pay homage; I offer her the tribute of my gratitude. Over a century ago the English colonies in North America were fighting for independence. The soldiers of the American Revolution were brave and devoted, but victory did not light upon their banners; America was becoming fearful of the result of the war. Suddenly soldiers of France, commanded by Rochambeau and Lafayette, landed on the shores of America, and the soldiers of France and of America united were invincible in battle.

What France has done for America.

Long before the days of the American Revolution, a great part of our country had been the domain of France. Ah! you might have founded a mighty empire beyond the Atlantic! In the seventeenth century, the French, who had established extensive colonies on the banks of the St. Lawrence, sent explorers and missionaries even as far as the waters of the Ohio and the Northern Mississippi. The French colony of Louisiana covered the whole southwest of the valley of the Mississippi. The colonies of England hugged the eastern seaboard. The Far West, the Southwest, the Northwest, were French possessions, and north of all that is now the territory of the United States was again the vast region of Canada, then, also, an appanage of France.

The state of Minnesota was the northwestern frontier of the possessions of France. It was in 1680

France in the Northwest.

that the northern Mississippi was first seen by a white man. This man was Father Louis Hennepin, who in the name of Church and of France, pushed his frail canoe as far north as the present site of the city of St. Paul, where he was captured by the savages of the Sioux tribe. During his captivity he baptized some infants, and blessed by prayer and invocation those new regions; and thus it was that the first ministrations of Christianity in Minnesota were dispensed by a messenger of France. It was Father Hennepin who gave to the Falls of the Mississippi the name of St. Anthony—a name which has never since been effaced from the map of the American continent. It was about the same time that a French explorer, Le Sieur Du Luth, first navigated the extreme western waters of Lake Superior, and at the point where those waters receive the tribute of the St. Louis River, on the northeastern limit of the territory of the present state of Minnesota, a city of great promise is called by his name—Duluth.

Seven years before Louis Hennepin had sped his frail canoe over the waters of the Mississippi northward from the mouth of the Illinois to the Falls of St. Anthony, the saintly missionary Jacques Marquette, had, in 1673, navigated the great river from the mouth of the Wisconsin to that of the Arkansas; and later, in 1682, another Frenchman, the dauntless voyager, the Chevalier de La Salle floated down its waters from the mouth of the Illinois to the Gulf of Mexico. Thus, before the end of the year 1682, the

whole of the mighty river upon whose banks to-day flourish imperial commonwealths, had been, with the exception of its extreme northern waters, explored by Frenchmen and by them made known to the civilized world. The earlier discovery of the Mississippi by the Spaniard, Ferdinand de Soto, had revealed to Europeans only a small part of the river, and had not resulted in further Spanish discoveries nor in Spanish occupancy of the neighboring lands.

In 1727, Le Sieur de la Perrière built upon the western shore of Lake Pepin, in what is now Minnesota, Fort Beauharnois — so named in honor of Charles de Beauharnois, at that time governor of Canada. This was the last post in the upper Mississippi Valley over which floated the "Drapeau Fleur-de-Lis." Jesuit missionaries accompanied de la Perrière and his soldiers, and they dedicated to the service of God, under the patronage of the Archangel St. Michael, the first Christian church ever erected in Minnesota, and indeed in the whole upper Mississippi Valley. A few hundred yards from the spot where this church stood, a convent has lately been erected, and a year ago I had the pleasure of dedicating the convent chapel, and of calling it — as of yore the chapel of Beauharnois had been called — St. Michael's. Thus the memory of France lives in my far-distant western home.

Within the present century, French religious ardor has been at work preaching Christ's Gospel amid our forests and over our prairies. The

city of St. Paul was founded when, in the year 1842, a French priest, a native of Puy, Father Lucien Galtier, dedicated on the banks of the Mississippi, a humble log chapel, calling it in honor of the Apostle of Nations, St. Paul. A few families made up the spiritual flock of Father Galtier — they were children of Canada, grandchildren of France. The first Bishop of Dubuque, in the state of Iowa, was Mathias Loras, a native of Lyons, and the first bishop of St. Paul was Joseph Cretin, a son of Montluel, in your department of Ain. Where Father Galtier erected his modest chapel fifty years ago, there now stands the great city of St. Paul with 160,000 inhabitants, adjoining which, and embracing within its borders the Falls discovered by Louis Hennepin, is the city of Minneapolis, with 200,000 inhabitants. The little chapel of St Paul, sixteen feet in length and twelve feet in width, built by Father Galtier, has yielded its name and traditions to the Cathedral of St. Paul, around which, in the two cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis, thirty-six other Catholic temples open their doors to more than a hundred thousand children of the Church.

The city of St. Paul named by a French priest.

Your explorers made known to the civilized world the territory of the United States. Your missionaries were among the first to preach the Catholic faith to the aborigines and settlers in America; your armies created the Republic of the United States. France stood sponsor for the Republic of the West when America was born into the galaxy of the

nations of the world. Well, let me say to you, France has reason to be proud of the infant of a century ago — the giant of to-day. The census of 1890 gives to the United States sixty-five millions of people; the census of 1900, God meanwhile blessing us, will tell of a population nearing the hundredth million. May I not be allowed to say, that the great and historic nations of Europe cannot afford to ignore the United States? The size alone of the Republic commands the attention of the world.

Wondrous development of America.

Our population increases, of course, largely by immigration from European countries. A flood of immigrants has been pouring in upon us during the latter half of this century. In the early days of the Republic the population counted only three millions. There have been many causes at work to attract to our shores millions of European immigrants; many causes at work to give to all the people of America, native and adopted, the extraordinary material prosperity and social happiness that have fallen to their lot. Among these causes is the beauty, the fertility, the natural richness of our country. Heaven has been generous in gifts to America. From the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Mexican Gulf to the British boundary, are lakes, vast inland seas, navigable rivers majestic in their flow, soil most fertile, mines most opulent, climate most varied and salubrious. The people, too, merit no small meed of praise; they are energetic and enterprising; they delight in labor; they are quick to put

to profit all the natural advantages of the continent. The great and wondrous inventions of this nineteenth century have marvelously contributed to the development of America. America is the favored child of the age. Without the discoveries and inventions of the age, without steamboats and railroads, without telegraph lines and electricity, the United States of to-day could not exist. It is not surprising that America loves material progress, loves the magnificent inventions of the century, the fruit of the genius of man, the gift of the Creator to His children of earth. Finally, the development of our country is to be attributed to our free institutions, which encourage in the highest degree private initiative and private enterprise. Our population would not to-day touch the Mississippi — certainly five great railroads would not span the continent — if the men of America had not of their own individual courage said to themselves: we must do great things; and if the spirit of their civil and political institutions did not invite them as individuals to mighty undertakings.

Immigration and assimilation.

To this day immigrants are thronging to our shores. On this account the United States affords social science a most interesting field of study. We have in our population representatives of all the nations of the earth — Englishmen, Irishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, Bohemians, Poles, Scandinavians, Italians, Arabs, Syrians, and Chinamen. Well, the number of immigrants is so great that we are beginning to be somewhat fastidious as to the quality. So

far, however, the only country whose immigrants we have determined to exclude totally, is China. We are sometimes blamed for our exclusion of the Chinese; our action in this matter, it is said, is at variance with our professions of freedom for ourselves and for others. But the social question, as it exists in America, has determined us to exclude Chinese immigrants; our working men cannot, with due respect for our standard of civilization and of the comfort of life due to all our people, enter into competition with Oriental labor. Moreover, Orientals show no readiness or disposition to assimilate with our American population, and one of the conditions upon which we invite immigrants to our shores, is that they loyally adopt our institutions and become with us one and the same people. As to immigrants from Europe, they, with a few exceptions, will be welcome in the future as in the past. Let them come; we have a great country within which to offer them homes, we have great civil and political freedom with which to bless them; and, in turn, we need the aid of bright minds and strong arms to increase our own prosperity. I have said: with a few exceptions. It is not unknown to us that in some countries in Europe — though not in your beloved France — when a city or village finds an individual too burdensome, the patriotic authorities say to him: Go to America. Here we cry halt. Our Congress has been asked to pass a law, according to which immigrants from Europe or elsewhere must be able to show certificates of good conduct and good health,

signed by our own consuls in foreign lands—otherwise those people will be generously restored by us to their mother country.

But how, you may ask me, is it possible that the heterogeneous elements brought by immigration to your shores become fused into one people, and constitute one undivided nation? How the vast masses of immigrants are assimilated into one people, I cannot clearly explain; but it is done. There is something in the air, something in the soil, something in the sweet freedom of our institutions; almost as soon as immigrants set foot upon our shores they love America; they rejoice in the freedom they receive from her; they live of her life; they acquire the spirit of the country. The transformation is particularly noticeable in the children of immigrants; they form a type of men, different from their ancestors—they are Americans. The first English colonists in the New England or north-eastern states, have, more than any other element of our population, contributed to the formation of our present American type; they have, beyond doubt, given to our whole population an impress which is ineffaceable, communicated to it a spirit which remains unchanged in the American, despite our varied aggregations of types from other countries. But these aggregations have, in turn, influenced in no small degree our original elements—influenced them, we are glad to say, for the better. We shall offer to the world in our growth a new type of humanity; this new type will be more perceptibly

differentiated as years go by. As a population, we are of the eclectic school. We take from each country its best elements of manhood, and of these elements we build up a new people — the American people. This new people will have the spirit of individual enterprise of the Saxon, the steadfast perseverance of the Teuton, the high-born sentiments, the poetry, the love of the ideal, that characterize the Frenchman. Will not such a people be worthy of your esteem?

America not understood in Europe.

Americans are not always understood by foreigners. They have their defects; but, I take pleasure in proclaiming it, they have also their virtues, many and grand virtues. European papers will blazon abroad some one abnormal occurrence which has happened beyond the ocean, and this will be accepted as a sample of what is daily taking place in America. Beware, I pray you, of judging us by the sophistic maxim — "Ab uno disce omnes." Europe has the habit of locating in distant countries, and preferably in America, whatever things it dreams of as exaggerated and terrible, whatever things it wishes to have removed from its own territories.

Law is sacred in America.

To no people is law so sacred and inviolable as to the American people; but because in rare and extraordinary circumstances, under strong provocation, or in some remote and semi-civilized region of our vast country, the forms of law are for a moment set aside, and Lynch Law holds sway, the American people are rated as lawless. And yet, in the eyes of the American citizen law is most sacred.

Law appeals to his conscience, and has the support of his conscience. Sometimes he may not like certain provisions of the law; but then, he says to himself: It is the law: I must obey it; in two or four years I will change it. This is a great privilege of the American people, a privilege which they value, and in which they find comfort for all temporary dissatisfaction — they change their laws, they change their lawmakers, without, however, ever thinking for a moment of setting aside the Republic.

Does America worship money?

We are sometimes spoken of as a people of materialistic tendencies, worshipping money and bending all our energies to amass riches. Americans, it is true, do love money; they are by nature energetic and aggressive; money represents to them the result of their labor, and, as they love their labor, they love its reward. They strive to accumulate wealth; they glory in thousands and in millions. But, at the same time, their hands are open to give — and to give in princely fashion. They spend money as freely as they make it. The beneficences of rich Americans are on a scale of surprising munificence; all classes of the people are generous within the limits of their fortunes.

Does America neglect culture?

The reproach is made that we build cities, and railroads and factories, but do nothing for art and science and the culture of life. It is true that we build cities and railroads and factories, because they are needed for the development of our country. Europeans built their cities long ago, and their

narrow territories and limited resources may not call for many new enterprises; the rich among them have had their fortunes made for them; they have more leisure than we for poetry, painting and music. We too, shall have leisure for those things. We are growing up to them very fast. Only give us time, and you will not have to complain of us.

> "Petit poisson deviendra grand,
> Pourvû que Dieu lui prête la vie."

With time we shall have all that is best in the highest forms of civilization, all that you are so justly proud of in your own France. Already, even, our libraries, museums and art institutes are assuming large proportions; and our universities are becoming world-known centres of thought and research. Mind is prized in America. The American, while building cities and constructing railroads, is not forgetful of the reverence due to mind; and among the American people, apparently so devoted to money-getting, the man of brilliant intellect is esteemed far above the man who is possessed of dollars by the million but is devoid of the accomplishments of intellect.

We have, it is said, no monuments, so that our country is uninteresting and uninstructive. Here, again, we need time. The monuments of God abound—ours is a grand, unequaled continent. Nowhere are rivers so mighty, lakes so ocean-like, mountains so sublime; nowhere does nature show herself so majestic and yet so entrancing. The monuments of man also are rapidly coming into existence—the palaces of our national government, the stately

homes of many of our citizens, tell that Americans are ambitious to adorn their land with noble monuments of architecture; and within our museums and private residences richest treasures of art are being steadily amassed. I know that it is said that we value things only so far as they pay good dividends, and that art, to be admitted into America, must prove her ability to fill the purse as well as to minister to cultivated taste. You have heard the story of a countryman of mine, on a visit to the city of Popes and Cæsars, standing admiringly before the Coliseum. "Nothing like this in America," remarked his Italian friend. The tourist looked for a few moments longer at the massive walls of travertine, that have defied two thousand years, and then calmly remarked: "The cost would be considerable; a Coliseum in America would not pay; that is why we have none." The story proves, not that Americans are devoid of artistic refinement, but that they are undaunted by seeming impossibilities.

The American woman.

The woman of America is reported to be forward and frivolous; in reality, she is only independent, and conscious of her power of self-control. You are surprised to hear of women in America combining to enlarge the sphere of women's rights and influence, and even to obtain for woman the use of the ballot. All our women are not in the category of agitators. All of them, however, are possessed of an energy and an independence of spirit that do them honor. They are, moreover, usually practical and endowed with good sense.

The system of education under which they are brought up is such, that if, in later years, fortune fails to smile on them, they are fitted to work for their living.

I am not ready to decide for or against woman suffrage. It is tried in some states of the Union, and those states have no reason to complain of it. A short time ago a woman was elected to the mayoralty of a town in one of the Western states; the day following her installation in office all the saloons were closed. This is but one of many indications that the interests of the commonwealth need not be despaired of even if women do secure the right of suffrage.

America essentially democratic.

America is the country of democracy—the democracy of the nineteenth century. Americans are democratic in their ideas and in their manner of living. This you will easily remark if you travel in our railroad cars, sojourn in our hotels, mingle freely with our people. But, you will ask, are not Americans fond of titles? Yes, but of military titles. Numbers of them are captains, colonels and generals. Where did they obtain those titles? The Lord only knows. Americans esteem and enjoy work. The millionaire of to-day freely tells that twenty or thirty years ago he worked for a dollar a day; he considers it an honor to have been able by toil and talent to rise from a humble station to his present condition.

Americans are, of course, democratic in their institutions. We even imagine, whether in this we are

right or wrong, that we are the apostles of political democracy to the world, and we are not loath to take to ourselves the honor of winning over to political democracy the love of old conservative Europe.

What is democracy?

Have we reason to regret that democracy is enthroned in America? Most assuredly not. What is political democracy? Abraham Lincoln has well defined it: "A government of the people, for the people, and by the people." It is a government by the people. If the people — the multitude, the masses — have risen to such a degree of enlightenment and self-control that they can be intrusted with the right to govern themselves, who would not rejoice to see them in the exercise of that right? What was Christianity in its earliest manifestations, if not a true democracy? When Christ appeared on earth it could be said: "The human race lives for the benefit of the few — *Humanum genus paucis vivit.*" Christ preached that all men are brothers, having above them one common Father. An apostle of Christ, when sending back a fugitive slave to his master, admonished the master to receive the slave as a brother. In the Roman Catacombs, amid hundreds of thousands of inscriptions, we find only three or four times the word: "Slave — *Servus, Ancilla.*" The inscriptions always read: "Brother, Sister — *Frater, Soror.*" The slave maid of the proud Roman matron was buried by the side of her mistress; in the eyes of the Church all were equal. Age after age the Church of Christ struck off the fetters of the slave, until the day came when

a Roman Pontiff was able to say: "There are no slaves in Europe." In feudalistic times serfdom existed, but change after change was introduced, and the condition of the masses was steadily ameliorated. The people were constantly gaining in rights and power until, at last, in America they believed they had risen so high that they could take their destinies in their own hands and be their own political masters.

American democracy values personal liberty.

American democracy understands the value of personal liberty. Decentralization is carried out as far as possible. Each state of the Union enjoys autonomy. Within the state each county has its liberties; within the county each city, each village, has its liberties; and everywhere we leave to the individual citizen all possible freedom — all freedom consistent with the safety of the commonwealth.

We are not all of one mind upon religious and social questions; indeed, upon many matters, we are at variance. But we know one another, and we love liberty — and we take as our rule to grant to others what we wish to have for ourselves. We never use the law to enforce our own personal ideas. We respect others because we wish ourselves to be respected.

Political parties and elections in America.

You are well acquainted with the form of government of the United States; it is the organized expression of democracy. We have, as you have, our president and our national legislature. Our senators represent the sovereignty of the several states. Each state, through its own legislature, chooses two

senators, and thus the smallest state in the Union has an equal representation with the largest. The members of the House represent the population. They are chosen in each state by the entire body of voters, and their number is in proportion to the population of the state. Each state in the Union has its own senate and its own representatives, all chosen directly by the popular vote. The governor of the state has within his own territory much the same powers as the president has for the entire country.

This year, we are to choose a president. A week ago, the Republican party, assembled in convention in Minneapolis, named Mr. Benjamin Harrison as its candidate. Next week, the Democratic party will assemble in Chicago to nominate its candidate. You may ask: What is the difference between these two great political parties of the country? The difference is chiefly one of tendencies. The Republican party endeavors, more or less, to strengthen the central government in Washington, while the Democratic party would prefer to extend the prerogatives of the several states. When both parties have chosen their candidates, the turmoil begins, and until next November we shall have almost daily in every village political discourses, in which one party will invariably declare that with the victory of the opposite party, the country is lost, and with the country the entire world. A stranger, traveling through America during the four months to come, would declare civil war to be inevitable. Well, in the first week of November, the elections are over and the vanquished will simply

say: "Our candidate has not been elected, but we have a president."

Is there political corruption in America?

It is sometimes asked whether in America there is not shameful political corruption? I am not an optimist. Wherever there are men they have their shortcomings. There can be found amongst us instances of political corruption, but the impression which is sometimes had of political corruption in America is entirely exaggerated, and, I must say, exaggerated through the fault of the Americans themselves. The vanquished party will always say on the morrow of the battle: "We were defeated despite our merits; we were beaten by bribery." Meanwhile those who speak in this strain do not believe what they say; it is a manner we have of consoling ourselves. Much money, no doubt, is disbursed on our elections, but it is for necessary expenses. Speakers and organizers are sent by the thousand to every part of the country. Large sums are disbursed, but not to purchase votes. Besides, the Australian system of balloting is now generally adopted throughout the country, and on this account temptation to purchase votes is minimized, as it cannot be known how the voter will use his ballot.

The Catholic Church in America.

You wish me to say something about the condition of the Church in the United States. In America we have a free church in a free country, and the Church is happy in her freedom. Many Americans, unfortunately, have no positive creed; they have, however, deep religious instincts. Religion — respect and love of religion —

America has its national an
Each year the President of the
a proclamation appointing a da
God for all the blessings received
ing year by the country, and th
observed by all—Catholics no
conspicuous in readiness to respo
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tures have their chaplains; their
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a minister of religion invokes the b
upon those present. All this is
The Sunday is observed with a s
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In America there is no establi
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are absolutely equal before th

Furthermore, churches, religious houses of education, hospitals, orphan asylums, are free from taxation; for, say Americans, such institutions are a great moral power in the land; they diminish the general rate of taxation; it is to the welfare of the country to promote the interests of religion. Our churches, Catholic and Protestant, are supported by the voluntary contributions of their members. While we adhere very firmly to our own faith, we live in peace with those of other beliefs. We have our rights, and we freely concede the rights of others.

Growth of the Church in America.

Catholics in America number to-day about ten millions. Exact statistics are difficult to be had. At the beginning of this century there were in the United States twenty-five thousand Catholics, one bishop and thirty priests. To-day the Church in America counts ten million Catholics, ninety bishops and nine thousand priests. It is no longer a missionary Church; it is duly established with all canonical rights. In choosing candidates for bishoprics the principal priests of a diocese speak first, then the bishops of the ecclesiastical province, then Rome. When it is a question of filling an archiepiscopal see, all the archbishops of the country are consulted. If in America the Catholic Church does not make progress, it is not the fault of the Republic. The Republic allows the Church the fullest liberty; and the Church, conscious of her divine mission, feels within herself all the vital forces necessary to grow and conquer without alliance with, or aid from, the state.

Has the Church lost in America?

It has been asked whether the Church in America has not lost in membership. At a congress recently held at Liège, some one ventured to assert that in America the Church has lost ten million members. He who made this statement knew not whereof he was speaking, or knew that he was not stating the truth. I estimate at a million, or, perhaps a million and a half, the Catholic emigrants and their descendants who are lost to-day to the Church. The cause of this loss was chiefly the lack of priests and the isolation of Catholics in the first half of this century.[1] Since the Church has been thoroughly organized, losses have ceased, or if here and there losses are still sustained, they are far more than counterbalanced by the number of conversions from non-Catholic bodies. These conversions are not so notable in number as we might wish them to be, but they are counted by hundreds annually in every diocese of the country. We have each year new accessions by immigration. The natural increase in the number of Catholics must also be taken into account. The future of the Catholic Church in America is bright and encouraging. To people of other countries, American Catholicism presents features which seem unusual; these features are the result of the freedom which our civil and political institutions give us; but in devotion to Catholic principles, and in loyalty to the successor of Peter, American Catholics yield to none.

[1] Vide. "History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States"— by The Rt. Rev. Thomas O'Gorman, chap. 29.

The Church in America is the church of the people. Priests and bishops live among the people, and are recognized as the protectors and friends of the people. We give, of course, due time to sacristy and sanctuary; but we give time also to the public life of the country. It is not, for example, unusual for me to make addresses on industry, agriculture, railroads, social questions. Last year, I addressed one evening, a convention of railroad employes, and the following evening, a convention of presidents of the city railroads of the country. In speaking to the employes I strove to be a friend and defender of their rights. The following morning a newspaper remarked that on that account I would have a difficult task to face in addressing the presidents of city railroads; I think I got over the difficulty. To the presidents I said: "Gentleman, when, last evening, I spoke to workingmen of their rights, and bade them defend their rights, I also defended your rights, for employers of labor will enjoy their rights only so far as they concede the rights of labor." To the praise of the American people, Catholic and Protestant, I must say that they are pleased to see clergymen taking part in the social and political affairs of the country. They desire to enlist in behalf of public interests all the intellectual and moral forces of the land. They know that the clergy are a great social power. They who differ from Catholics in religious belief, and even have but little sympathy for the Catholic faith, realize to-day

The Church of the people.

that the country must reckon with ten million Catholics. Besides, those who differ from us in faith, have no distrust of Catholic bishops and priests. Why should they? By word and act we prove that we are patriots of patriots. Our hearts always beat with love for the Republic. Our tongues are always eloquent in celebrating her praises. Our hands are always uplifted to bless her banners and her soldiers.

A Protestant minister lately remarked that the growth of Catholics in social and political influence is greater even than their growth in numbers. This is true. Fifty years ago, Catholics were for the most part newly arrived immigrants. They were poor. They could aspire to fill but few public offices. To-day they are wealthy; they are well represented among the officials of city and state; they are found in the higher as well as in the lower ranks of society; anti-Catholic prejudices have almost disappeared.

Patriotism of Catholics in America.

Formerly, Americans thought that Catholics aimed at importing ideas of monarchy and imperialism into the United States, and that the Catholic Church could not be reconciled with the principles of the Republic; not so now. The Church has breathed the air of the Republic, and has prospered. No one to-day doubts the patriotism of Catholics. Some time ago, in one of our cities, a lecturer announced as his subject "The Roman Catholic Church, the Enemy of Republican Institutions." He was at once told that his subject was wholly out of place and would not be listened to, "for the most ardent

adherents of republican institutions in this city are the Roman Catholic bishop and priests."

Recently, as your papers have informed you, a memorial was addressed by some Catholics in Germany to the Holy See, asking that, in the nomination of bishops in the United States, the question of nationality be taken into account, and that German, Italian, French, Polish, and Bohemian priests be appointed bishops in proportion to the number of Catholics of their respective nationalities.[1] The American Episcopate at once forwarded to Rome a formal protest against this memorial, and their protest was heeded. Had the memorial been listened to by the Holy See, the Episcopate of America would now be an object of suspicion to the government, and Catholics would be looked upon as foreigners encamped upon the soil of the Republic. We choose our bishops, and we will always choose them, from among priests worthy of the Episcopate, irrespective of their origin or nationality; we will never allow foreigners to impose bishops upon us.

In civil matters we have, as you are aware, our Monroe Doctrine. Let Europeans, we say, arrange their own affairs as they think best. Americans will arrange theirs as they think best. In religious matters we recognize willingly and loyally the supreme authority of Christ's Vicar, the Pontiff at Rome; but let no one imagine that our country is a Congo to be partitioned at the good pleasure of

[1] Allusion is here made to the memorial presented in 1891 to the Holy See by Herr Peter Paul Cahensly.

foreigners. We have, under Peter's successor, our autonomy, and for the sake of the American Church and of the American Republic, we will maintain that autonomy.

The Pope and Democracy.

As a citizen of a republic, I recognize this evening a special obligation to the country through which the approbation and the benediction of the Head of the Church have come to the republican form of government —I must give expression to the gratitude which wells up in my heart to-night for the great country which gave to Leo XIII the occasion "to canonize the republic." Heretofore when I came to Europe, I heard it whispered about that I was a dangerous man, that I believed in democracy, that I loved republics. Indeed, it was darkly hinted that I was almost a heretic. All that even friends would say to me was: "Your ideas may pass current in far away America where people are not yet fully civilized." To all this I had but little to reply. Certainly, I had not at the service of my mind and heart the strong, proud words which are to-day upon my lips. Arriving in Rome, a few months ago, I heard from the summit of the Vatican Hill: "Of all the forms of civil government which the Church has recognized, and of which she has made trial, she cannot say from which she has received more harm or more good."[1] Just now she is resolved to make trial in France of the republic; and I, as a citizen of

[1] Letter of Leo XIII to the Catholic people of France, 1892.

a republic, say to the Church: "In this experiment thou shalt succeed."

The social question in America.

I have been asked to say a word on the social question in the United States. America, as well as Europe, has its social difficulties; and these difficulties, although to-day much less grave in America than in Europe, may possibly grow more serious with time in our country. As things are in the United States, the social question is easier of solution there than elsewhere. Our democracy helps us. With us the working man knows that he is the civil and political equal of his richer neighbor, and the rich man freely recognizes the civil and political rights of his poorer brother. The fundamental principle of the Republic is the dignity of man—the self-same principle which underlies Christian sociology. Once the dignity of man is recognized, even though social inequalities do necessarily exist, still no man is to be regarded as a piece of machinery or a mere beast of burthen; no man is to be deprived of the sublime right which God bestowed upon him in creating him—the right to live in accordance with human dignity and to gain a decent competency for himself and wife and children. In the light of this principle, the social question is one of justice not of charity. A true democracy helps considerably to solve the social question. Another fact which contributes to the same result is to be noticed in our country. We have no hereditary classes, and few hereditary fortunes. We have no rigid social strata,

which force men to remain where they begin life. The workingman of to-day is the employer of to-morrow. A fellow-feeling is thus begotten, and is easily maintained between employer and employe; they are more likely to understand each other, to eliminate harshness and distrust from their dealings with each other, and to respect each other's rights.

Our working men are usually educated. They read, study, think. Generally speaking, each trade has its own union or association. The well-known society of the Knights of Labor draws its membership from all trades. These unions discuss in their meetings the interests of workingmen, and devise methods for their advancement. One who has not been present at their meetings can hardly realize what calmness and practical good sense they bring to their deliberations. Many of our laws enacted in favor of labor were suggested by our labor unions, and adopted through their influence by our legislatures.

We have in America some excellent labor laws, such as those regulating the work of women and children, preventing an excess of working hours, ordering the regular inspection of factories, and securing life and health from defective machinery or bad ventilation. We do not fear the intervention of the state in labor matters; we demand that the law should protect the natural rights which the poorest and the weakest have to life and health and legitimate means of amelioration. We trust much to the mutual sense of justice of employer and employe,

and to the power of a sound public opinion; but those failing, we invoke the intervention of the state. The state is organized society, whose duty it is to protect the rights of all its members, rich or poor. In America there is a different conception of the state from that which is common among other peoples. In a free country like ours, the state is truly the expression of the will of the people. For us, the state is no spectre hanging over us in mid-air, with intent we know not whither directed. The state is ourselves. The government at Washington or in the capital of any of our sovereign states, is the will of the people. This is why we love the state and the state's law; state and law are begotten of the people.

We have had strikes, and we are not sure that we shall not again have them. Public opinion, however, is turning strongly against such methods of social warfare. The more intelligent leaders of labor unions strongly deprecate them. The results of strikes have usually been detrimental to the interests of workingmen, and toilers are not slow to perceive the fact. The spread of true principles as to the relations of labor and capital, the growth of intelligence, of respect for social order and the rights of others, of the recognition of human dignity, and of brotherly love for all men, the growth of religion and of virtue in rich and poor, in employer and employe, will in America, as elsewhere, be the antidote to social warfare, and will provide the solution of all social questions.

Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you for the patience with which you have listened to me. All my life will I sacredly preserve the memory of this evening. It is an honor for me that you have come to hear me; it is an honor for the Republic of the West that such distinguished citizens of France have been pleased to take so much kindly interest in its institutions and to show so much warm sympathy with its people.

Above me the "tricolor" of France, and the star-spangled flag of the United States intertwine their folds — the symbol of the union of love and respect which exists between the two great republics of the world. May the union last; may each one of these two sister republics enjoy within its own borders peace and prosperity; may both together be to the entire world the inspiration of liberty and of happiness.

Flag of the United States, flag of my country! I offer to thee the tribute of most sincere allegiance and most warm affection. My heart, my life are thine. I am proud of thee for the glories that thou dost represent; I cherish thee for the liberty that thou dost ensure. As a bishop of the Catholic Church I praise and thank thee for the freedom which is granted to her wherever thou reignest. I pray the God of nations to bless and guard America.

And, while I am most loyal to my country, ladies and gentlemen, permit me to say that whenever I see the "tricolor" of France, my soul will go out

to it in esteem and gratitude, and whenever the music of the name of France echoes in my ear, the deep fullness of my heart will vibrate in love, and my lips will invoke upon your country the blessings of Heaven.

THE PONTIFF OF THE AGE.

THE discourse on "The Pontiff of the Age" was delivered in the Cathedral of St. Paul in July, 1892, on the Sunday following Archbishop Ireland's return from a visit to Rome. It has been deemed fitting to insert this discourse at the close of the present volume, for Leo XIII. embodies in his life all the qualities of mind and heart which should be brought to bear upon the problems of the age, and teaches, by his whole career, how high intelligence, far-reaching sympathy, and exalted zeal insure success in dealing with the vast and varied interests where the Church and modern society meet.

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ONE day, in far-off Palestine, Christ the Crucified, now risen from the dead, addressed Peter: "Feed my lambs: feed my sheep." Some years later, a stranger from the East entered Rome by the Appian Way and said to himself: "Here will I remain; hence will I feed my Master's lambs, and my Master's sheep." The stranger in Rome was Peter, to whom Christ had spoken in Palestine. Peter brought to Rome her greatest glory: he made her the seat of a universal and never-ending empire — the empire of the Church of the Living God.

Peter enters Rome.

Magnificent, indeed, was the city of the Cæsars; illustrious was her story; far reaching was her reign. She was the mistress of the known world; the riches of nations poured into her lap; the splendor of earth encircled her; her legions had borne her victorious eagles over sea and continent. All the glory, however, that the Cæsars could give her, was the glory of earth. Henceforth, Rome is the city of Peter, her glory is that of Heaven. She is the capital city of Christ's Church; she is the center from which truth and grace go out to men; her power extends to lands where the Cæsars' eagles had never been seen.

In the designs of the Almighty the human empire of Rome was the symbol of her divine empire; her worldly glory was a preparation for her Heavenly

glory. It was because she was the great Rome of the Cæsars, towards whose forum converged the highways of the world, that Peter chose her to be the chief city of Christ's empire.

O, Rome! little didst thou know the gifts that the humble Hebrew was bringing to thee. Thou wouldst have laughed him to scorn hadst thou heard him proclaiming his purpose to conquer thee to his crucified Christ and foretelling the wondrous transformations that were to come upon thee: "The gods of Rome I will dethrone: here my Master must reign. Upon yonder Vatican Hill will I place the seat of my power; upon Aventine and Capitoline will the cross, emblem of my Master's death and triumph, be erected; the temple of the mighty Jupiter will be sacred to the Crucified; the Pantheon will be dedicated to the heroes of the new religion. As of yore, the nations will pay homage to Rome — but henceforward to the Rome of Peter." Such might have been the thoughts of Peter as he first trod the streets of the Eternal City.

Rome was accustomed to the sight of conquerors; oft had generals passed out from her gates, in all the pomp and panoply of war, to subdue peoples and to return to her in the majesty of victory, with kings and chieftains chained to their chariots. But a conqueror in the person of Peter! A conqueror of Rome herself! What madness it would have seemed to Rome had Peter's purpose become known to her. And yet Peter conquered. Catacombs and Coliseum! you are witnesses of the dreadful contest

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other power worked for humanity, the Papacy was still more towering in stature and eminent in deed.

Nor did the Papacy pass down the centuries without battles against fierce and powerful enemies. Might of hand and power of mind, such as would have brought destruction to the most massive kingdoms, assailed it in every age. But it was always victorious and always lived to chant its song of triumph over the graves of its enemies. Again and again its end was foretold; but the end never came; and, to-day, as we contemplate Leo reigning on the Vatican Hill at the close of the nineteenth century, even if we forget the divine promise of life to the Papacy and remember only its past victories and present glory, we must proclaim the Papacy eternal.

The Papacy and civilization.

From the Rome of Peter, Christianity and civilization went abroad over the world. Blot out from history the influence of the Papacy—what remains to humanity of Christian truth, spiritual life and moral culture? The apostle of Christianity was ever the apostle of civilization; and it was at Rome's bidding and under Rome's guidance that the religion of Christ was preached to every nation of Europe. As early as the second century of the Christian era, Irenæus of Gaul wrote: "To Rome, because of its princedom, must believers from everywhere turn." From Rome Augustine went to Albion's shores; and by Rome Boniface was sent to the Black Forests of Germany, and Ansgar to the tribes living near the waters of the Northern

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A crucial period in the history of the Papacy.

To the minds of many the crucial period in the history of the Papacy had come when the last days of Pius IX. were approaching. The question was put: Were not the last days of Pius to be, also, the last days of the Papacy? Or, if the Papacy were yet to survive, would it be more than a mere shadow of its former self, out of place in a new world and without power upon the destinies of peoples? Wonderful, indeed, all conceded, was the past of the Papacy. But at some point of time all things of earth, the best and the greatest, outlive their mission—had not an end come even to the Papacy?

The signs of the times were singularly against the Papacy. Pius had been stripped of all temporal sovereignty. The Pope had been king, and kings had reckoned with him, and the pomp of regal dignity had guarded him and robed with splendor even his spiritual chieftaincy. But, now, the despoiler reigned in the Quirinal; the cross of Savoy replaced on the Capitol the tiara of the Pope. Pius, men said, is now a mere subject; his spiritual power is shorn of majesty and will soon give proof of weakness and decay. The spiritual power of the Papacy, how little the modern world needs it! How little the modern world cares for it! The reign of the Papacy has passed away forever. Rome remains; but it will be a new Rome. As the Rome of the Popes succeeded the Rome of the Cæsars, so a third Rome, the Rome of the future, will succeed the Rome of the present, and this third Rome will some day behold the ruined

arches and broken pillars of Lateran and Vatican basilicas, as the second Rome beheld the shapeless ruins of the once glorious Forum. Thus spake men in the declining days of the reign of Pius IX.

And, indeed, the world of the closing years of the nineteenth century is a new world, and does seem to demand new modes of life and new directions.

The Papacy and the new age.

Outside the great change which followed the preaching of the Christian religion, there has been no change in the life of humanity so deep and so far-reaching as that which the world is now witnessing; none so intense and so acute. "All things shall be made new," is the cry of humanity, and even surrounding nature catches up the cry. Material forces heretofore undreamed of come out of their hiding places and submit themselves to the service of man. Discoveries and inventions are daily made which surprise the world by their number and the grandeur of their results. New needs are born in humanity that whet its prowess to action. Humanity now aspires to limitless realms of power and expansion. It is no longer at ease in the social forms of the past, and these it casts aside as infant vestures too small for use in maturer years. It is conscious of larger rights; it breaks away from its old intellectual moorings and sets sail across untried seas. It demands greater liberty; it defies the restraints of old political forms and calls into existence new social institutions and new forms of governments. And the transformations of to-day

only foreshadow those of to-morrow. Proud, self-confident, restless humanity bounds forward with ever-increasing will and power into the unknown and the untried.

With this new world was the Papacy confronted—the Papacy despoiled of all temporal power, shut up in solitude within the walls of the Vatican. There was no source from which the Papacy could derive strength save its own inherent energies. Several of the nations of Europe were openly at war with it. Italy was confiscating schools and monasteries; Germany, armed with her Falk laws, was imprisoning priests and bishops; France was preparing her anti-clerical decrees; Russia was peopling the steppes of Siberia with exiled Catholics. Governments that did not persecute showed no regard for the Church or her Pontiff. Where there was peace, it was the peace of neglect if not of contempt. No wonder that the question was asked: Is not the Papacy at the end of its power and mission?

The Papacy was on trial in the world as never before since the days of the catacombs.

Christ never abandons His Church. At all critical periods in the previous history of the Papacy, providential popes had been seated in the chair of Peter, and, by singular force of mind and singular skill of action, had been able under divine guidance to overcome all difficulties and bring victory to the Papacy. And so, fourteen years ago, when the hour seemed the darkest for the Papacy, Gioacchino Pecci was proclaimed Pope.

What of the Papacy to-day? It lives; it reigns; it triumphs. Spoliations and persecutions serve only to reveal its strength; the strange transformations of the new age but develop its power of adaptability to all times and prove its perennial life.

The greatest moral power of the new age.

Leo brought to his work brilliant intellect, indomitable energy, great knowledge of the world, high statesmanship and undaunted courage. Great things, he was convinced, must be done for Christ's Church, and great things he resolved to do. The order from Heaven plainly was, "Launch out into the deep," and Leo's quick reply was, "At Thy word I will let down the net."

To-day the Papacy is recognized as the first and greatest moral power in the world. The Vatican, as seldom before in history, occupies the thoughts of men, and moves peoples and governments.

To-day, as seldom before, the Papacy is prominent in the world, as the religious and spiritual teacher of mankind.

The loss by the Papacy of its temporal power, which it was supposed would lead to its death, has given to Leo the opportunity to put into bold relief his own power of thought and action and the native force of the Papacy. In all that he has accomplished there was naught at work but Leo and the Papacy. I will not of course condone the spoliation of the Papacy. That spoliation remains a crime against international law, and a blot on the history of Italy. I will not

The loss of the temporal power.

desist from proclaiming that the fitting position of the Papacy amid the nations of Christendom is one of plenary independence. I will, with Leo, entrust the independence of the Papacy to the Master, who sooner or later rights wrongs and glorifies His Church. But, meanwhile, I see the good arising from the evil; I see Leo's triumphs made the more glorious, because of the wrongdoing of the spoiler.

The new age confronted Leo. It was Leo's opportunity. The new age mistrusted the Church; it warred against the Church, for it believed that its hopes and aspirations were antagonized by the Church. Leo knew well the age, and he is to-day its leader. The title which above all others he has merited and which history will award is this—The Pontiff of his age.

The two-fold life of the Church.

The Church never changes, and yet she changes. In the constitution of the Church there is a two-fold element: the divine and the human. The divine never changes; it is of Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. But even in the divine we must distinguish between the principle and the application of the principle; the application of the principle or its adaptation to environment changes with the circumstances. And thus, at times, there seems to be a change when there is no change. The Church, ever the same in her divine elements and in her principles of truth and grace, has simply been the vigilant guardian of men, bringing out of her treasury, as the needs of men demanded, "new

things and old;" laying stress to-day upon affirmations of certain points more emphatically than she did yesterday; fitting herself to new situations, which were never foreign to her, but had not heretofore presented themselves; giving, according as emergencies arose, interpretations of her principles, which interpretations are new, only because the emergencies calling for them had not before arisen. We should never fail to distinguish in the life and action of the Church the absolute and the relative, the permanent and the contingent, what she received of her Founder and what she assumed of her own accord. Two extremes are to be shunned — ultra-conservatism, which clogs the chariot wheels and retards the march, and ultra-liberalism, which in its ambition to master the present imperils principle and gives way to imprudent precipitancy of action. To determine the golden mean is genius. This, Leo has done. He has gauged the age; he has discerned in it the good and the bad; he has known how to be liberal while conservative, how to adjust the Church to new situations while yielding nothing of her divine elements. Leo has made the age known to the Church, and the Church known to the age. To the age he has pointed out its "unknown God," and proved that the Church is of all the ages, of the present as of the past, of the future as of the present.

The aspirations of the age are recognized by Leo. What is good in them he applauds and encourages, and the age, heretofore at war with the Papacy, discovers in it an ally and a guide.

The age is profoundly democratic; its democracy, more than any other of its characteristics, differentiates it from preceding ages. In its principle, democracy dates from the hour when Christ bade all men say: "Our Father who art in Heaven." Through all Christian history its development is traceable, beginning with Paul's request to Philemon to receive as a brother the slave Onesimus, and becoming more manifest with succeeding years, as the teachings of the gospel were more clearly understood and better opportunities were afforded to realize them in practice. To-day, at the close of this nineteenth century, democracy seems to have attained its full growth.

The democracy of to-day.

Democracy is the complete recognition of human dignity and of human rights and the concession to all men, as far as social relations and differences of natural endowments allow, of the rights and privileges which all men should enjoy within the social organism. It is the equalization of all men in rights and opportunities; it is the recognition, in principle and in practice, of the dignity of manhood in all men.

To-day democracy finds its chief manifestations in the movements of the working classes to ameliorate their condition and to obtain fitting compensation for their labor, and in the aspirations of the masses of the people to participate more largely in the government of the nation.

The workingman, at one time the slave, at another time the serf, has not always and everywhere, even in recent times, enjoyed his full natural rights. The law declared him free; poverty and weakness

tended to reduce him to servitude. What was said to be a boon to the workingman, the open market for labor, not seldom put him in the condition of a beast of burden, or a piece of machinery, to be valued only for his power in keeping the wheels of industry in motion, and to be accorded the lowest reward that competition with fellow-laborers in a state akin to starvation made possible. Too often the productiveness of human labor was alone taken into account. The age of democracy could not endure such a degradation of human dignity.

The masses heretofore had but little part in the government of society. The rulers were kings and nobles; the people obeyed the law, but had no part in making it. Once enthroned, rulers held that they forever owned the country and its people, and however profound the changes which, in the course of time, the nation experienced, the reigning dynasties believed their rights to be unchangeable. Here, again, democracy demands reforms. Its assertion of human dignity in all men brings with it the conviction that all men should have a voice in the affairs of the nation, and political revolutions occur which seem to shake the very foundations of society.

The encyclicals of Leo are the charters of modern democracy. If the Papacy is, as it claims to be, of divine institution, it is to be expected that it should guide the new as it guided preceding ages. The Papacy has not failed in its mission.

"Do not advance too far," Leo sternly says to

the workingman and his friends. There must always be among men an unequal distribution of the possessions of earth; for the gifts of mind and body, through which these possessions are acquired, are unequal in men. The rights of property are sacred and cannot be violated; they who wrest to themselves the property of others, are robbers, and, together with idolators and adulterers, are excluded from the Kingdom of Heaven. Nor can the State arrogate to itself the rights of men to private ownership, for man is older than the State, and private ownership is nature's own institution.[1] But, on the other hand, Leo proclaims most emphatically the rights of the poor and the weak. Never since the Nazarine said: "I have pity on the multitude," have words been spoken on the rights of the poor and the workingman, so sublime and so authoritative, as those of Leo's encyclical on Labor. Workingmen, says Leo, are not slaves; we must respect in every man his dignity as a man and as a Christian. Laborers are not to be treated as chattels, nor to be considered merely as so much muscle or physical power. The employer must never tax his work-people beyond their strength, or impose upon them work unsuited to their years. While workmen and employer may make free agreements, nevertheless there is a law of nature more imperious than any contract, and the remuneration of the wage earner must be enough to support him in reasonable and frugal com-

Leo's encyclicals, the charters of modern democracy.

[1] Vide Encyclical on Socialism, 1878.

fort. And, finally, while the state must not absorb the individual or the family, it must, by prudent legislation, protect and foster the natural rights of the workingman and of his family.[1]

"Do not advance too far," Leo says to the masses of the people who are demanding political rights that have been heretofore denied to them. Society is from God, and they who are chosen to rule over society have authority from God; it is a crime against God to violate the just laws of the state, or to do anything that tends to the disruption of society or the weakening of its bonds. Anarchists, and all promoters of wild disorder, are condemned in strongest terms by Leo.[2] But, on the other hand, all the just claims of peoples are insisted upon. The absolutism of the irresponsible state is severely rebuked. The State, whatever its political form, has authority from God, and is to use its power only in accordance with the principle of the eternal law of righteousness and for the greater good of the people. The right to decide as to who shall hold sway in the State, or what political form the government shall assume, belongs to the people, and cannot be wrested from them. Leo's encyclical to France is a message to all nations, for the principles there enunciated are of universal application. In that encyclical the Pope declares that whatever be the form of government in a nation it cannot be considered so definite as to be unchangeable, even if this had been the intention of

[1] Vide Encyclical on the Condition of Labor, 1891.

[2] Vide Encyclical on Civil Authority, 1881

those who first constituted it. And when a nation has adopted a form of government, however new, such form of government is binding upon citizens, for it is the expression of the will of the people, and the interests of social order demand that it be accepted and obeyed. Empires, monarchies, republics are alike entitled to recognition and respect — the one condition for the legitimacy of any form of government being that it has been constituted by the people. Not long ago a republic was considered to be an anomaly among nations, as being the very embodiment of social revolution and social chaos. Now the Supreme Pontiff of the Catholic Church, the representative of what is in the eyes of all men the most ancient and the most powerful religious organization on earth, of what is to two hundred and fifty million Christians the Church of the living God, hails the republic, and declares that the Church is as much at home under such a form of government as under an empire or monarchy. It had been supposed that the Catholic Church looked upon a republic with dread and suspicion. History had so closely associated the Church with empires and monarchies that friends and foes imagined empires and monarchies to be the natural allies of the Church. Whenever old regimes were thrown aside, the Church too was in peril of being thrown aside as if she were inseparable from the social forms of the past. Leo has freed the Church, lifted her above all forms of human institutions, and shown her to be the Church of all nations and of all ages. The Church,

says Leo, has dealt with all forms of government, with empires, monarchies and republics, and from which she has received more joy or more sorrow it is difficult to tell.[1]

Even in this age of human rights, slavery, that most dreaded form of human degradation, still exists. The age protests against it as no preceding age did, and the day is approaching when, even in the darkest thickets of Africa, there shall be no slaves. Leo leads his age in the war upon slavery. In his letter on African Missions he declares that "slavery is contrary to religion and to the dignity of man." "No occasion," he adds, "is passed over by us of rebuking publicly and condemning this detestable evil." We know how vigorously Leo labored with the lamented Lavigerie to arouse Europe to suppress the African slave trade, and how he gave expression in a public letter to his joy of soul when in compliment to him, on the occasion of his sacerdotal jubilee, Brazil emancipated all her slaves.

Leo leads the age in the war upon slavery.

Other aspirations of the age are noticed and fostered by Leo. The age is athirst for knowledge: under Leo's guidance and with Leo's aid, schools and universities spring up in all quarters of the globe; men of talent are sought out to fill chairs; pathways are opened to widest researches. "We have no fear of the publicity of documents,"[2] he says, speaking for the Church, and, in accordance with those words,

[1] Vide Encyclical to the Catholics of France, 1892.

[2] Vide Address to the German Historical Association, February, 1884.

he throws open the archives of the Vatican to scholars of all nations, to non-Catholics as well as to Catholics.[1] On the shelves of the Vatican library priceless historical treasures have been accumulating; the records of the whole life of the Church and of the nations of Christendom are there. Those treasures are now offered to the investigations of the learned "with a freedom and a complacency," says a newspaper of Berlin, "which are rarely met with in other libraries of Europe."

Leo blesses and encourages progress.

This is an age of progress in all things appertaining to the intellectual and bodily life of man. Leo blesses progress in all its manifestations. "All that is true," he writes, "must come from God. Whatever of truth is reached by research, the Church regards as the tracing of the divine mind. As there is nothing of truth in nature's realm that can take away faith in divinely taught doctrines, whatever helps to extend the frontiers of science the Church gladly welcomes. So far from being opposed to new discoveries, to whatever conduces to the comfort and amelioration of human life, she condemns inertia and indolence, she strongly desires that the genius of man compel labor and culture to yield rich fruits, she offers encouragement to all kinds of arts and of enterprises, directing all such things to honest and salutary purposes, and striving lest, in the exercise of intelligence and industry, men turn away from heavenly things."[1]

To nothing that elevates man, that builds up within him the moral and intellectual life, that

[1] Vide Letter on Historical Studies, 1883.

improves his material and social condition, does Leo, in the work of his pontificate, remain a stranger. He is not merely a priest of the temple. The whole world is the work of God, and the Church, the representative of God on earth, must take interest in all that blesses and elevates the world. No one should fancy that religion must lock herself up in her temples. We occasionally hear this narrow view of religion propounded. It is not a true view. Religion, we are told by the Apostle, has the promises of the life that is and of the life that is to come; and she must make good the promises for this life as well as for the next. Moreover, while other departments of human action have their own well-defined spheres, and while religion must not impede their workings, yet religion should be present to give motive to all human activities, to guard them from the danger of moral perversion and to direct them towards noblest purposes. If religion remains aloof from the world, God is quickly banished from among men, and the spirit of evil asserts its domination. The great and enlightened Leo comprehends in an eminent degree the mission of religion; and among the lessons to be learned from him this is not the least: that wherever good is to be done for humanity, there the minister of the Church should be found working for men, and, because working for men, working for God. Art, literature, industrial expositions, societies of mutual benefit, politics of nations, anti-slavery crusades, temperance organizations — all these as well as questions directly involving faith and morals—have engrossed the attention of Leo,

so that the summary of his teaching and the record of his acts will cover the whole range of human needs and human activity in this feverish and active period of humanity's history.

The Pontiff of the age.

The Pontiff of the age! Leo surely lives in his age and for his age.[1] All its aspirations possess his mind; all its energies consume his heart; all its ambitions find in him sympathy and counsel. The Papacy hostile to the age, when the Papacy is named Leo! Leo is the age personified. The age has not one thought, true, or good, or noble, that Leo does not interpret and approve. From time to time, indeed, his voice is raised to warn and his hand is extended to repress; but it is only when false friends plot to demolish where they offer to build up, or when thoughtlessness and imprudent enthusiasm hurry well-meaning advocates of the age into perilous excesses. Serious dangers confront the age — dangers the more serious because of the loftiness of the ambitions of the age and the ardor of its energies. The supreme need of the age is a wise and prudent leader, who, while giving rein to all its forces, would steadily control them, and guide them to the achievement of their one grand purpose — the elevation and happiness of humanity.

When the Papacy is in action the whole Catholic

[1] The attitude of Leo XIII. towards the world of to-day, and especially towards America, is admirably delineated by the masterly hand of Vicomte E. Melchior de Vogüé, in *The Forum* for January, 1897. Consult also "Pope Leo XIII.," by Justin McCarthy.

Church is in action,—the Church with her potent organizations in every part of the globe, with her compact and resolute hierarchy, and her hundreds of millions of loyal adherents. When the Papacy blesses and fosters the aspirations of the age, what mighty power is brought into alliance with the age! The new age that will soon be named the twentieth century will bow in reverence and gratitude before Leo XIII.

The question: What of the Papacy in the new age? is answered; it is answered by Leo. The Papacy has proved itself to be of the present as well as of the past. Like Christ, the Papacy is of all ages.

The Papacy is to-day of the new age; it is to-day of all ages. The encyclicals of Leo, apparently so new in their enunciations, are only reaffirmations of the principles of an Augustine or an Aquinas, and such applications of those principles to modern social developments as an Augustine or an Aquinas would, if confronted with these developments, have counseled. Short-sighted men, even within the Church, are startled by what they term the novelty of Leo's encyclicals. It is because their limited range of vision never reveals more than one period of the history of the Church, or more than one portion of her teachings. It is because they confound transient forms of policy with immutable principles, and mistake accidentals for essentials. Leo dominates time and space; Leo's mind is of all ages—of the present, as well as of the past; of the future, as well as of the present.

How much there is to be said of Leo in what we may term his strictly religious or ecclesiastical work! This work is the first and chief duty of the Head of the Church. As performed by Leo, it is distinguished by intense activity and far-reaching embrace. The most remote country of the globe feels the impress of his zeal—everywhere hierarchies are established, missions organized, colleges and universities instituted, plans put into execution to bring back schismatic flocks to the fold. Every land will in its future history date from Leo's pontificate some great turning point in its religious life. The strengthening of dogma, the expansion of devotion, the awakening of piety among the faithful, have been repeatedly the objects of pontifical acts. The spirit of activity that distinguishes the age in its material development is not without its counterpart in the activity of the religious work of the Church during Leo's pontificate.

Leo's care of the spiritual interests of the Church.

Personally, Leo is the hardest worker of the century. How he is able to accomplish so much, to give to his labors so much time and attention without detriment to his health, is a source of surprise to all who observe him. From early morning until late at night he works; the hours for rest are few; those for recreation almost none. His public duties occupy the greater part of the day, and, these duties over, he is again at his writing table, or amid his secretaries, or with his immediate counselors. I had the privilege

The wondrous energy of Leo.

of having several protracted audiences with him, and of hearing from his own lips some few of the innumerable things that occupy his mind. I have always left the Vatican amazed at the grandeur of the Roman pontificate and the grandeur of Leo XIII. Never before had I so vividly realized the Catholicity of the Church — the Catholicity of geographical extension, the Catholicity of work, the Catholicity of influence. In one morning I have seen within the Vatican bishops from America, North and South, from Africa, from China, from France and Germany; ambassadors of great nations; representatives of the great interests of humanity; and as I listened to Leo and heard him speak of projects of his great mind and heart for the United States, France, the far Orient, Russia, Great Britain and Ireland, I marveled at the sublimity of his ideas, the accuracy of his knowledge of the world, the quickness of his perception, and I could not but exclaim to myself: I am in presence of the great thinker, the great statesman of the nineteenth century; I am face to face with one of the great pontiffs of history!

Leo the pacificator and statesman.

When Leo was chosen Pope, hostility to the Church was widespread among nations. Leo has been the pacificator. In Europe much is said of Leo's policy, his method of dealing with peoples and governments. There are those who criticize Leo's policy; who believe that the Pope should not come into close contact with the relations of governments to their subjects, or who demand war to the bitter

end in defense of the plenary and absolute rights of the Church and of her children. Leo holds that wherever the interests of religion can be promoted, there he should be, and that where the head of the Church is permitted by law or custom to treat with governments, he ought to treat with them, and, where necessary, to give counsel to their subjects in matters in which the Church is concerned. He holds, also, that prudence is an important element in the government of the Church, and that, where no principle is imperiled, concession and conciliation are more productive of good results than are inflexible demands for the enjoyment of all theoretical rights. Leo is a statesman, and he possesses the practical good sense and the wise diplomacy of a statesman. In response to Leo's policy, Germany abrogates her Falk laws; France relents in the enforcement of her anti-clerical decrees; Russia opens negotiations with the Vatican, and treats her Catholic subjects with unaccustomed leniency; Spain and Belgium are more Catholic in their legislation, and other countries in Europe become friendlier in their relations with the Church.[1] In the far East, China responds to Leo's words of charity, and mitigates her hostility to her Christian subjects. In the far West, the Republics of South America yield to Leo's influence, and grant to the Church the enjoyment of fuller liberty. And I state a fact to which, I am sure, my fellow-countrymen

[1] Between Leo and the Kingdom of Italy there is not yet peace, not because Leo does not desire peace, but because he will not purchase peace at the cost of the independence of the Papacy.

will bear willing witness, when I say that, thanks to Leo's words and acts, the people of the United States accord to the Catholic Church and to the Papacy friendliness of thought and feeling much greater than that heretofore manifested.

Success and permanency of Leo's work.

Reactionaries and allies of old political regimes, in their fear lest Leo's triumphs consign to yet deeper oblivion their own ideas and methods, declare that Leo's policy of pacification is a failure. Here the wish is, indeed, father to the thought. Leo's policy of pacification is not a failure. It has already accomplished much; it will accomplish still more in the future. Complete pacification is not the task of a few years. Time must intervene before a policy can bear full fruit. Time will justify more and more the wisdom of Leo.

And so it is with Leo's entire work. As time passes, Leo's influence will deepen and expand. The history of his pontificate cannot be written when he vacates Peter's chair; Leo has profoundly impressed the Church and the age; to both, new courses have been opened, and as both pursue their appointed paths, they will bear witness to the power and the high thought of him who designed their charts. The reconciliation of the Church with modern times is Leo's work. That work has so profoundly graven itself upon Church and age that no hand can ever obliterate it. The principles are proclaimed; the impulse to action given; a backward movement is impossible. We are too near Leo to estimate the

greatness and grandeur of his life and work; the generations that are to come will be able to do him full justice.

Leo and America.

I must not forget to speak of the special love that Leo bears to the United States. His great mind has enabled him to understand our country and the grand mission which Providence assigns to it. He sees in the United States the country in which the aspirations of the age are to-day best realized, the country in which the world of the future will soonest take shape, and in which the grandest field opens for the Church of Christ. Leo understands, loves, blesses the liberty which America guarantees to her people. "The United States," he said one day to a Paris journalist, "in its republican form of government, despite the possible danger of a liberty almost boundless, grows greater and greater every day, and the Catholic Church has developed herself there without having any struggles to sustain against the State — that which is suitable to the United States is suitable also to France." He is delighted to see Americans, Catholics or non-Catholics; he always speaks to them of their country in terms of high praise. The European Commissioner of the World's Fair was lately presented to him and obtained from him the promise to send to the Exposition rare documents bearing on American history that have never yet been allowed to leave Rome. His interest in the Church in America is deep and lasting. At the present moment he is contemplating new measures whereby to draw

the Church in America closer to himself, and to infuse into her from the center of Catholicity new life and new energy.[1]

A tribute to Leo.

I have seen Rome; I have seen Leo. My visit to Rome and to Leo will be a memory to be treasured during my life; it will be an inspiration to noblest thoughts, an encouragement to highest sacrifices in the service of God and of humanity. Leo, from my heart I thank thee this morning for the kind favor with which thou didst receive me, for the happiness which thou didst give me, for the inspiration and courage in the work of my episcopate which have come to me from thy words and example. I pledge to thee in my own name, in the name of the priests and the faithful laity of the Diocese of St. Paul, love and loyalty. I salute thee, the Supreme Ruler of the Catholic Church, the successor of Peter, the Vicar of Christ. I salute thee, Pontiff of the age.

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[1] Since this discourse was delivered, Leo XIII. has given further proof of his interest in America, and his regard for its people, in the Encyclical, which he addressed in 1895 to the Bishops of the United States.

INDEX

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND CIVIL SOCIETY.

Pages.

Man is made for Society, 29; Society cannot Exist without a Central Authority, 30; Theories of Hobbes and Rousseau, 31; The Divine Origin of Society, 32; Teachings of Leo XIII, 32; Perils of Society, 35; Under the Terms of the "Social Contract" Social Authority does Not Exist, 36; Self-Interest or Physical Force does Not Supply the Place of Authority, 38; The Appeal to God and to Conscience Insures the Stability of Society, 39; Liberty! No Conflict between Liberty and Authority, 41; Catholic Teaching Consecrates Authority and Confines It within Just Limits, 43; Authority is Transmitted by God through the People; the People Decide What Form of Government They shall Have, and Who shall Be Their Ruler, 44; Doctrine of St. Thomas Aquinas as to Rulers and Laws, 45; Revolution at Times Permissible, 48; Civil Liberty Independent of Forms of Government; the Despotic State Possible under All Forms, 49; The Principles of Liberty Live of the Life of the Church, 51; Distinction between the Temporal and the Spiritual Realms; Catholics Are Loyal to Both. 52; The Church Always Battled for Liberty for Herself, 54; The Church Battled for the Personal Liberty of Man, 55; The Church Battled for Civil Liberty, 56; Despotic State Governments Followed in the Wake of the Reformation; Protestantism Enunciated No Principle that favors Liberty, 58; Political Liberty; the Republican Form of Government; the Attitude of the Church toward Republics, 59; The Catholic Church Always Encouraged Liberty, 61; Words of St. Augustine on Republics; and of Social Virtue in Republics, 63; The Republic of America, 64. 25-65

THE MISSION OF CATHOLICS IN AMERICA.

Pages.

The Next Century will Be as We Make it, 72; God Always Does His Part; Men do Not Always Do Theirs, 72; God's Will Is that We Work to Make America Catholic, 74; Value of America to the Church, 75; American Catholics Called to Reconcile Church and Age, 77; The Conflict between the Natural and Supernatural, 78; Catholics should Not Fear or Hesitate, 80; The American People Not Hostile to the Church, 81; Freedom of the Church in America, 83; Syllabus of Pius IX, 83; What Is Good, What is Bad in the Age, 84; The Age Needs the Church, 86; Earnestness a Condition of Victory, 88; Catholics should Be Aggressive, 89; Catholics should Be in Touch with Age and Country, 90; Ours Is an Intellectual Age, 92; Ours Is the Age of Democracy, 93; Catholics in Social Movements, 94; The Conversion of Non-Catholics, 98; The Mission of Laymen, 99; The New Century, 100..... 67-101

THE CHURCH AND THE AGE.

The Common! We Are Surfeited with It, 106; The New Era—The Church must Adapt Herself to It, 107; Discord between Church and Age; Where the Fault Lies, 108; The Mistake of Churchmen; Reason of the Mistake, 109; Opportunity for Great Leaders in the Church, 112; What Is Good, What Is Bad, in the Age, 112; The Permanent and the Transient in the Church, 113; The New Crusade, 115; The Age, Ambitious of Knowledge, 115; It Is the Age of Democracy, 117; It Is an Age of Social Justice, 118; It Is an Age of Material Progress, 119; Duty of Catholics toward the Age, 119; Objections of the Timid, 121; Leo, Pontiff of the Age, 123; In Spite of Opposition, Leo Works and Leo Reigns, 125; Leo and America, 126; The Providential Archbishop of Baltimore, 127; The Church will Conquer, 130..... 103-131

HUMAN PROGRESS.

Pages.

Mind, the Greatest of Things, 135; The Discovery of America, 136; The Quadri-Centennial Commemoration, 137; The Material Exposition, 139; The Exposition of Mind, 140; In Man Alone Progress Is Found, 141; The Departments of the Congress Auxiliary, 144; The Department of Religion, 148; Working for Man Is a Divine Task, 150; The History of Humanity, a History of Progress, 152; A Propitious Time to Work for Progress, 153; Forecast of the Future, 155..... 133-158

PATRIOTISM.

Beauty and Value of Patriotism, 163; The Providence of God over Countries, 163; America's Singular Title to Our Administration and Love, 165; The Republic of America Is the Recognition of the Manhood of Man, 166; America Is the Embodiment of Liberty, 167; Mission of the Republic of America to the World, 168; "I am an American Citizen!" 168; The Moral and Religious Duty of Patriotism, 169; How Much There Was at Stake in the Civil War, 171; The Results of the Civil War, 174; The Duty of Patriotism in Time of Peace, 175; Faith in the Republic of America, 176; Danger to the Republic, 176; Patriotism, the Salvation of the Country, 180..... 159-181

AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP.

George Washington, the Ideal Citizen, 185; American Citizenship Is American Manhood, 186; A Democratic Government an Extraordinary Experiment, 187; A New Nation, 188; The Foundation of the Republic Is the Recognition of Manhood in Man, 188; The Creation of the Republic the Boldest Political Act Recorded in History, 189; America, a Rich and Beauteous Land, 191; The Providential Nation of the New Times, 192; Americans, Noblesse Oblige,

Pages.

193; Democracy Has Its Perils, 194; Washington's Prophetic Counsels, 195; Morality Is the Soul of Good Citizenship, 195; Religion Gives Life and Power to Morality, 196; Universal Intelligence Essential to Democracy, 196; The Use of the Ballot, the Supreme Act of Citizenship, 197; The Caucus and the Primary, 199; The Liquor Power in Politics, 199; The Political "Boss," 200; Selling and Buying of Votes, 200; Country above Party, 201; The Best Men Needed in Office, 202; Duties of Public Officials, 203; The Spoils System, 204; Obedience to Laws, 205; Suppression of Riots, 205; Perils from Unrestricted Immigration, 206; Americanization of Some Americans Needed, 207; No Danger of State Socialism or of Social Warfare, 209; From Democracy There Is No Backward Course, 211; The Republic of America will Endure, 211; The Churchman as a Citizen, 213 183-214

STATE SCHOOLS AND PARISH SCHOOLS.

The Necessity of the State School to Exist, 218; Gratuitous Instruction, 219; Instruction of Children should be Made Compulsory, 219; Value of the American State School, 220; Objection to the State School; It Makes No Provision for Religious Instruction, 221; The Evil Fruits of a Non-religious School, 222; The Mind a Double-edged Sword, 224; Morals Require a Religious Foundation, 225; Religious Instruction in Connection with the State School, 225; Difficulties to be Encountered, 226; Fairness Required toward All Citizens, 227; Plans of Compromise, 229; Catholics Not Opposed to Education or to State Schools as Agencies of Education, 231 215-232

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND LIBERAL EDUCATION.

The Work of Father Edward Sorin, 236; America Makes Great Enterprises Possible, 238; The Founders of Notre Dame Profited of Their Op-

Pages.

portunities, 239; Father Sorin's Work Repeats History, 239; Importance of Liberal Education, 241; The Development of Mind for Mind's Sake, 242; The Power of Educated Minds, 243; The Catholic Church, the Friend and Patron of Liberal Education, 244; The Church, the Founder of Universities, 246; State Schools and Colleges, 247; Christian Schools and Colleges, 249; The Mission of Catholic Colleges, 250; The Leaders of the Catholic Laity, 252; How Those Leaders are to be Educated, 253; Praise of Notre Dame, 255; The Future of the Church in America, 256 233-257

INTEMPERANCE AND LAW.

Intemperance, a Dreadful Evil, 262; Intemperance in the United States, 264; Intemperance the Source of Pauperism, 267; Intemperance Destroys Health and Life, 269; Intemperance Begets Vice and Crime, 270; "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London," 272; The Evil is Growing, 274; The Chief Cause of Intemperance, the Liquor Traffic, 276; The Expansion of Traffic, 278; The Temptations to Drink, 280; Lawlessness of the Traffic, 282; Selling Liquor on Sundays and after Midnight, 285; Selling to Minors and Habitual Drunkards, 286; The Traffic Respects No Law, 288; The Political Power of the Traffic, 289; The State Must Interfere, 293; The State Means the Voters, 295; The Cry of Personal Liberty, 296; Put No Saloonkeepers in Office, 297; Enforce the Laws, 298; Reduction in the Number of Saloons, 299; High License, 300; Effects of High License, 301; Can High License be Enforced, 303; No Ground for Opposition to the Measure, 304; Will the Poor Man Suffer through High License, 305 259-307

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE SALOON.

The Bishop Watterson Decree, 311; The Decree Confirmed, 312; Effect of the Decree, 314; Reply to

Pages.

Objections, 315; Catholic Theology and the Saloon, 317; Evils of the American Saloon, 317; The Church of Christ against the Saloon, 318; Intemperance among Catholics in America, 321; The Church Not Responsible, 323.. 309-325

CHARITY IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Teachings of the Catholic Church on Charity, 330; Motives that Animate Catholic Charity, 331; Charity Organized in the Church, 333; Charity in Catholic Countries, 334; Heroic Charity in the Church, 336; The Source of Its Inspiration, 338; Sweetness and Tenderness of Catholic Charity, 341; Economy and Skill in Catholic Charity, 343; St. Vincent de Paul Society, 344. 327-345

SOCIAL PURITY.

High Moral Standard of Christianity, 349; Sacredness of Wedlock, 350; Christianity Elevates Womanhood, 351; Objections against Work for Social Purity, 351; Must Evil Always Be, 352; Grace and Nature must Combat Evil, 353; No Danger in Working for Social Purity, 353; Wiles and Activity of Impurity, 354; The Champions of Purity, 356; What May be Done, 357; Protective Measures, 358; Appeal to All Allies, 359 347-360

AMERICA IN FRANCE.

What France has Done for America, 367; France in the Northwest, 368; The City of St. Paul Named by a French Priest, 370; Wondrous Development of America, 371; Immigration and Assimilation, 372; America Not Understood in Europe, 375; Law Is Sacred in America, 375; Does America Worship Money, 376; Does America Neglect Culture, 376; The American Woman, 378; America Essentially Democratic, 379; What Is Democracy, 380; American Democracy Values Personal Liberty, 381; Politi-

Pages.

cal Parties and Elections in America, 381; Is There Political Corruption in America, 383; The Catholic Church in America, 383; Growth of the Church in America, 385; Has the Church Lost in America, 386; The Church of the People, 387; Patriotism of Catholics in America, 388; The Pope and Democracy, 390; The Social Question in America, 391..... 361-395

THE PONTIFF OF THE AGE.

Peter Enters Rome, 399; In History There is Nothing Like the Papacy, 401; The Papacy and Civilization, 402; A Crucial Period in the History of the Papacy, 404; The Papacy and the New Age, 405; The Greatest Moral Power of the New Age, 407; The Loss of the Temporal Power, 407; The Two-fold Life of the Church, 408; The Democracy of To-day, 410; Leo's Encyclicals the Charters of Modern Democracy, 412; Leo Leads the Age in the War upon Slavery, 415; Leo Blesses and Encourages Progress, 416; The Pontiff of the Age, 418; Leo's Care of the Spiritual Interests of the Church, 420; The Wondrous Energy of Leo, 420; Leo, the Pacificator and Statesman, 421; Success and Permanency of Leo's Work, 423; Leo and America, 424; A Tribute to Leo, 425. 397-425